FUTUHAT-I-ALAMGIRI

Ishwardas Nagar's

Futuhat -i- Alamgiri

Translated & Edited
by
TASNEEM AHMAD

IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI
2009, QASIMJAN ST.
DELHI (INDIA)

Dedicated

to

Communal harmony, Universal peace
and Brotherhood.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations have been generally used in the book :—

A.N.	Alamgir Nama.
M.A.	Ma'asir-i Alamgiri.
A.M T.	Arkan-i Ma'asir-i Taimuriya.
T.M.	Tarikh-i Muhammadi.
T.U.	Tazkarat-ul Umara.
Akh.	Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mu'alla.
B.S.	Basatin-us Salatin.
S.D.A.	Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign.
Farhat.	Farhat-al Nazirin.
Adab.	Adab-i Alamgiri.
Ruq.	Ruqa'at-i Alamgiri.
Z.A.	Zawabit-i Alamgiri.
Hatim Khan	Alamgir Nama.
Kamwar	Tazkarat-us Salatin-i Chaghta.
Mamuri.	Tarikh-i Aurangzeb.
M.U.	Ma'asir-ul Uamra.
Bhim Sen	Nuskha-i Dilkusha

Foreword

Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri is an important source of information for various developments during the reign of Aurangzeb. As a non-official writer, his account is of immense importance for the students of Medieval Indian History, even though he has many limitations as an historian, a point which has been brought out in the Introduction. But so far a carefully edited English translation of the work was not available, I am glad that Tasneem Ahmad undertook the work and successfully completed it. I am sure his translation alongwith notes will be found useful.

Tasneem Ahmad is right in pointing out that Ishwardas nowhere represents Aurangzab either as a champion of Islam or an oppressor of Hinduism. Neither the conflict with Shivaji nor the events following the death of Jaswant Singh are put forward in a religious light. Contemporary Rajput sources, such as the Hukumat-ri-Bahi which has been recently published adopts a similar attitude ragarding Rajput affairs. Thus there is a great need for editing and translating contemporary sources.

I would like to congratulate Tasneem Ahmad for the useful work he has done and wish him success in this field.

SATISH CHANDRA

Chairman,
University Grants Commission,
New Delhi.

Dated 16-9-1978

Acknowledgment

Ishwardas Nagar's *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, a valuable specimen of Medieval Indian historiography, has been attracting the modern scholars only for the activities of the Rathors during the Deccan campaign of Aurangzeb. It is interesting to note that it is a valuable source with a difference; a non-commissioned, non-official work which was neither written to glorify the reign of Aurangzeb nor to denigrate it, nor to win any person's favour, but certainly for the benefit of posterity.

Futuhat-i-Alamgiri has the singular distinction of being a contemporay account for more or less half a century, (1657-1700), a highly mis-represented period of Indian history. Ishwardas, the author who was an eye-witness almost to all the important events of this crucial period of Indian History, worked under Qazi-ul-Quzat Shaikh-ul-Islam and Shujaet Khan, the subedar of Ahmedabad and was also responsible for the reconciliation between the Mughals and the Rathors. His account of Aurangzeb's reign, which has commonly been projected as partial, orthodox, obscurantist, communal and even anti-people, does not only expose such myth, but evokes a re-thinking on Aurangzeb also.

The real importance of *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* lies not only in its authenticity as historical document to warrant an appeal not merely to the experts and specialists of Aurangzeb's reign, but also to the thoughtful men and women to whom Indian History is a living concern. I have attempted to keep the translation not only accurate but intelligible and readable which necessitated :—

(i) To drop superfluous adjectives, unless the chain of adjectives is used with a set purpose or to make certain indi-

rect remarks. In that case I have brought out the implication of such insinuations ; (ii) Wherever the Persian sentence was long, complex or ornate it has been broken into small sentences. I have taken the liberty to summarise them but special care has been taken to preserve the essence of the text ; (iii) Verses quoted are omitted in translation unless found relevant to the narration ; (iv) Laudatory titles used for the King, Princes, nobles and imperial armies, have been avoided; (v) Persian terms commonly understood or where no equivalents are available are transliterated.

I acknowledge my debt to those without whose encouragement and assistance this work could not have been undertaken. The list is long and I would not be able to mention all names.

However, I express my profound sense of gratitude to Prof. M.A. Ansari who guided and encouraged me at every stage of this work and who also enthusiastically helped me in scrutinising closely the translation, by comparing it with the original text. Inspite of his preoccupations, he ungrudgingly spared his valuable time to examine with care every intricate problem, arising out of the translation of this book from Persian into English. I owe a debt of gratitude to Late Dr. B.P. Saksena who took great pains in reading and correcting the entire manuscript. His insistence to modify my choice of a particular word in favour of a more suitable one or to alter the construction of a passage in order to make it more effective by bringing it nearer to the author's own conception has paid me rich dividend.

My debt to Professor Satish Chandra, Chairman, U.G.C. is incalculable. I am also thankful to him for going through some of my chapters and offering valuable comments for their improvement. Grateful thanks are also due to Professor S. Nurul Hasan, who gave me the idea of this work when I had completed my Master Degree at Muslim University, Aligarh and who had been most helpful and encouraging from the earliest to the very final stage of this work.

I am thankful to Professor K.A. Nizami and Professor Irfan Habib, Muslim University, Aligarh, for their valuable

suggestions. Personal and warm thanks are also due to Prof A.R. Kulkarni, Chairman and Prof. B.R. Grover, Director, ICHR, New Delhi for their valuable guidance and help.

I record with great pleasure the facilities offered to me by the authorities of various libraries in Delhi, Aligarh and Rajasthan. Particular mention should be made of the unfailing courtesy and cooperation of the ICHR which provided me assitance in its completion.

I shall remain indebted without mentioning the valuable cooperation, extended by my brother, Dr. Naeem Ahmad, Reader, Deptt. of Urdu, A.M.U. and friends. Mrs Naseem Bhatia, Dr. K. Maitra, Shabi Ahmad, V. R. Mani, P. K. Shukla, Miss V. H. H. Lal and Mandave who helped me in reading the proofs.

I am deeply obliged to Mr. Mohammad Ahmad of *Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli* who took personal interest in getting this work printed. However, I stand responsible for the shortcomings, and faults if any.

Tasneem Ahmad

6th October, 1978
Delhi-110006

Introduction

Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707A.D.) was pretty long, extending over a period of fifty years, but the official chronicler, Muhammad Kazim of *Alamgir Nama*,[1] has recorded the events of only the first ten years. The remaining part is covered by the un-official chroniclers, who leaving aside Saqi Mustaid Khan of *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*,[2] faced many hardships and problems in recording their accounts but whose love for knowledge and learning inspired and encouraged them to give expression to their views, thus making it possible for us to derive informations which otherwise, would have been completely lost.

Among the contemporary and near-contemporary chroniclers of Aurangzeb's reign Ishwardas[3] is an exceptionally important because he had acquired a keen insight into the Emperor's mystique surrounded reign which has been projected as partial, orthodox, obscurantist, communal, sectarian and even anti-people. But Ishwardas is an exception. Let us discuss in detail the life, religious background, the source of information, method of treatment of history, personal likes and dislikes of such an important chronicler.

---

1. The *Alamgir Nama* of Muhammad Kazim is a good detailed official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign.
2. Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan remained in the service of Aurangzeb for forty seven years. He was also an eye-witness of many of the events recorded by him. It was compiled under Bahadur Shah I.
3. The author himself spells his name Isardas. Dr J.S. Bird, dealing with the MS. of the same author, calls him Shridas in History of Gujarat, 89, while I have spelt his name Ishwardas. also see :— Ishwardas :— A Hindu Chronicler of Aurangzeb's Reign, Tasneem Ahmad, Islamic Culture, Haiderabad (India), Oct. 1975.

About his family background in the preface of his book, *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*,[4] he states that he "was a Nagar Brahman and an inhabitant of *Pak-Pattan*,"[5] suggesting that he belonged to an old and respectable family of the Nagar Brahmans of Gujarat which had been known for their piety, scholarship and administrative capabilities. Surprisingly, his book contains no information about date of his birth. What is recorded in the preface is that "he joined the service of Qazi-ul-Quzat Shaikh-ul-Islam[6] at the first stage of his youth and remained attached to him (the Qazi) till the age of thirty." Apart from him. the other contemporary and near-contemporary sources also maintain complete silence about this matter. However, on the basis of an extract from his book, the date of his birth and the year of joining the service of the Qazi, can be calculated. If it be presumed that Ishwardas joined the Qazi's service at the age of fourteen, then he completed his thirty years in December, 1684 A.D. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that he was born around 1654 A.D., and the year of his joining the Qazi would have been 1668 A.D. He gives no reason for leaving the Qazi's service. Later he took up a post under Shujaet Khan,[7] the subedar of Gujarat. The Khan appointed him

4. The number of B.M.MS. is add.23,884 and its copy, preserved in Edinburgh, is No. 218. There is another work bearing the same title i.e. the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* or *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* by Muhammad Masum, who was in the service of Sultan Shuja.
5. *Futuhat. fol. 6a.*
6. "Shaikh-ul-Islam, who was the son of Qazi Abdul Wahab, the Chief Qazi of the Empire, was the Qazi of Delhi. After the death of his father, he was summoned to the Court and received his father's post of the Qazi of the army. He resigned his post in 1682-83 A.D., when the Emperor rejected the former's advice not to fight with Muslim-brethren like the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. In December 1684 A.D., the Qazi set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca." *M.A. 148, 239 and 394.*
7. "Shujaet Khan, whose real name was Muhammad Beg, was a Turkoman. He was in the service of Prince Murad Bakhsh during the latter's Subedari of Gujarat. Aurangzeb conferred upon him the title of Kartalab Khan and later Shujaet Khan and appointed him the subedar of Gujarat in A.H. 1098, where he served for the greater part of his life". *Ibid.441.*

amin in the dependency (pargana) of Jodhpur.

Ishwardas's object in writing the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, was neither to glorify the reign of Aurangzeb nor to denigrate it nor to win any person's favour. According to him, his purpose was that "after going through it, the high-born may realize its importance, the educated may derive intellectual benefits, the illiterate may gain knowledge and the brave may seek inspirations of bravery. The cowards, on the other hand, may also long to undertake valorous deeds."[8] He further states that "I wanted to write a detailed account of the achievements of the predecessors of Emperor Aurangzeb and its information was obtained from the Qazi or was witnessed (by me) which I thought would comprise volumes. Keeping this in mind, I decided to write a brief but important account of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign, which is captioned as the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* and it comprises seven topics."[9] Therefore, it can be established that he compiled the book for the benefit of posterity.

The *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* does not contain the date of its composition which is usually given by the authors in the preface of their books. Other contemporary sources also maintain complete silence about it. But J.N. Sarkar says "Ishwardas completed the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* on 21st Rabi I, A.H. 1143 (12th year of Muhammad Shah's reign), corresponding 23rd Sept. 1730 A.D., when he was seventy-six years old."[10] The learned scholar has not supported his conclusion with any argument and he seems to have established his date on the basis of the date given at the end of the B.M. MS. which reads that :—

هذا نسخه که جهت یادگاری مهته ایسری داس چینی قوم ناگر این نسخه
قلم بند کرده مسمی به فتوحات عالمگیری ساخته است و برای مطالعه

8. *Futuhat. fol. 6b.*
9. *Ibid. fol.* 6b.
10. Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, 266.

زره بمثال لاله خوشحال بتاریخ بست و یکم شهر ربیع الاول سنه
دوازدهم شاهی روز یکشنبه مطابق سنه ۱۱۶۳ هجری قلمی شد۔

The passage quoted above indicates very clearly that the copy of the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwardas, prepared for Lala Khushhal, was dated Sunday, 21st Rabi I, A.H., 1163, corresponding to Saturday, the 17th Feb. 1760 A.D. Rieu in his catalogue of the B.M. MS. also writes that the copy of Ishwardas' work was transcribed in the A.H. 1163.[11] In the light of these facts the date given by Sarkar seems to be erroneous, because it is the date of the transcription and not of the completion of *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri.*

The date of the composition of *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* can be established on the basis of its last chapter. The last heading, given by Ishwardas, deals with the appointment of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur as the *Subedar* of Lahore[12] and the arrival of Sultan Buland Akhtar and Durgadas at the imperial court.[13] Therefore, it may be noted that Ishwardas has avoided the events, covering not only the period 1698-1701 A.D., but also the events up to the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. Under the circumstances, there can be two possibilities, first, Ishwardas completed his book in 1699-1700 A.D., when he was forty-seven years old, presented it to Shujaet Khan and lived thereafter without adding anything to it. Second, that he did present the book to the Khan before the latter's death in 1701 A.D., and died in the same year.

Ishwardas claimed that he composed the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* from his personal knowledge since he was either an eye—witness to most of the events which occured during the reign of Aurangzeb or obtained information about them

11. Rieu, I, 270.
12. The Khan was appointed the subedar of Lahore on 11th April, 1691 A.D.
13. Sultan Buland Akhtar and Durgadas came to the imperial court in 1698. See also *M.A.* 395.

from the Qazi. His patron, being the Chief Qazi of the Empire, might have accompanied the Emperor in camp and court alike. This fact provided a good opportunity to the author to learn facts which he later recorded in his book. He enjoyed the same privilege as he did when he joined the service of Shujaet Khan. One can get an idea of his close relations with the Khan from a statement made by him in the last chapter of his book, where he says that he was mainly responsible for carrying the message of Durgadas to Shujaet Khan, thus helping the former's reconciliation with the Mughals. He further states that he accompanied Saifunnisa Begum[14] from Gujarat to the imperial camp. There he submitted to the Emperor the terms on which Durgadas[15] was willing to surrender. Thereafter, under the Emperor's instructions he went back to Gujarat where he contacted Durgadas and persuaded him to submit to the Emperor as his earlier conditions having already been accepted by the Emperor. He then accompanied Durgadas and Sultan Buland Akhtar[16] to the imperial camp. Acknowledging Ishwardas's service, the Emperor created him a commander of 250, conferred upon him a *jagir* in Merta (Marwar) and posted him to Ahmadabad.[17]

Ishwardas is the first chronicler of Aurangzeb's reign and he deserves closer attention than has been paid to him by the modern scholars who consider him merely an important source for the activities of Rathors during the Deccan campaign of Aurangzeb. But it is interesting to note that the

14. Saifunnisa Begum had been given refuge by the Rathors since her father's flight in 1681. She was restored to Aurangzeb in 1694 A.D. *Ibid 272.*

15. Durgadas was the son of Askaran, who was a minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. His unflagging exertion and wise contrivance helped Ajit Singh to get his father's throne. He remained with Prince Akbar till he sailed out for Persia. He brought up the daughter and the son of Prince Akbar with much care. He surrendered to the Emperor in 1698 A.D., *Ibid, 395.*

16. Sultan Buland Akhtar was brought up by the Rathors, who accompanied by Durgadas, came to the imperial court in 1698. Ibid, 395.

17. *Futuhat. fol. 166a to 168b.*

Futuhat-i-Alamgiri is the only extant work, written by a contemporary of Aurangzeb, who not only finished it during the latter's lifetime, but was also responsible for the reconciliation between the Emperor and Durgadas. Moreover his work fills an important gap in our historical knowledge of the political, socio-economic and cultural conditions prevailing during the period 1658-1698 A.D. It starts with the war of succession and ends with the reconciliation of the Emperor with Durgadas. Though it does not cover all the aspect of Aurangzeb's reign, much valuable information can be easily gathered from it.

The importance of Ishwardas' account can be judged from the fact that the author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* utilized it as one of the sources and based on it his account of the surrender of Saifunnisa Begum, Sultan Buland Akhtar and Durgadas.[18] The real charm of the work lies in the fact that he was a contemporary author and resolved the conflict between the Rathors and the Mughals. Moreover, it also provides us with a picture of the age in its varied aspects of glory. Unlike him, other contemporary and near-contemporary chroniclers of Aurangzeb have presented only one sided view of the events of his reign, while the real picture was quite different. These chroniclers have failed to assess or justify various policies and decisions of Aurangzeb which shaped the country's destiny at that time because they were the prisoners of their narrow sectarian outlook, which kept constantly haunting their minds as well as their pen. Aurangzeb's move for the imposition of *Jiziah* on the Hindus, was highly appreciated and lauded because it boosted their conservative outlook and so they have lavished fulsome praises on him. But their appreciation did not survive long. The moment the Emperor decided to annex the states of Bijapur and Golconda, the resentment became rampant in the rank and file of the Mughals. The Shias vehemently opposed the move while the Sunni orthodoxy supported it.

18. See :-*Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by Mirza Muhammad Hasan entitled Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur, edited by Sayied Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1927-28 A.D.

Ishwardas though born and brought up in the traditionally orthodox family of the Nagar Brahmans of Gujarat, was free from religious fanaticism. Much impressed, as he was by the Qazi and Shujaet Khan, he had great regard and tolerance for Islam. His narrations, regarding the imposition of the *Jiziah* on the Zimmis (infidels), the destruction of the temples of Mathura and Udaipur and the suppression of the Marathas, the Jats, the Rathors, the Satnamis and other rebellions, do not portray Aurangzeb's hostility or fanaticism towards Hindus or Hinduism.[19] Though a Hindu, Ishwardas does not say that the Emperor considering himself the champion of Islam, imposed the *Jiziah* on the *Zimmis* (infidels) or destroyed their temples. Similarly, the suppression of Dara Shikoh, Muhammad Shuja, Murad Bakhsh, Muhammad Akbar, the Afghans, the Deccanies and the refusal to observe Id prayers in the mosques of Bijapur and Zahrapur, is also nowhere treated in a different manner. Though Ishwardas does not seem to be impressed by the Emperor's visits to the saints or to defend his orders for demolishing the rare and unique paintings in the palace of the Sultan of Bijapur and his *do-gana* (thanks giving prayers) at the time of victories, even then he has recorded it all to provide an alive picture of the social values and customs prevailing in our society at that time. These instances give credit to his honest and deep-seated political and religious convictions, which helped him to understand the things in the right perspective. Certainly, this fact enhances the value of his work which is nowhere coloured by religious fanaticism.

Ishwardas does not give a graphic account of the economic condition of the period which was deteriorating. But a few examples cited by him reveal that his conclusions were sound. Describing the siege of Bijapur, which was affected by a severe drought, he states that the matter had come to such a pass that "the merchants, growing impatient, demanded the payment without a moment's delay and insisted that all transactions must be made in cash." Second, the report of the *Nazim* of Haiderabad informed the Emperor

19. Surprisingly nothing is recorded by Ishwardas about the Sikhs.

that, "the people of Haiderabad on account of their poverty are unable to pay the *Jiziah* and whenever they are asked for it, they run away." The gravity of the crisis was so severe that on the one hand the merchants were refusing to supply their commodities on credit and on the other hand the people had started abandoning not only their fields and houses, but their villages also. The economic crisis deepened so much that Aurangzeb ordered the *Nazim* of Haiderabad that "for a year the *Jiziah*, *mahsul*, *sair* etc. and other exempted taxes should not be collected from the people. They should not only be asked to remain in their villages and houses (*mahals*) but should also be persuaded to engage themselves in their respective works and professions. From the dependencies (parganas), the related amount of *Jama* should be collected and spent in whatever manner, it may be for the good and welfare of the people and the habitation of the area. Moreover, the merchants should also be charged, according to the Zabta." This emphatically reveals that the Emperor was more concerned about the welfare of the people than with the glorification of his religious convictions.

As regards the administrative system of Emperor Aurangzeb, information in the *Futuhat* is only meagre. The names of *parganas* and *Sarkars* officers have not been mentioned alongwith the subordinate officials. But the intelligence system was, however, so perfect that if someone said something even in his house, it was reported to the Emperor. The narration of Ishwardas does not produce an impression of hitting behind the back because he records the entire happenings alongwith the Emperor's reactions and sentiments.[20] In the face of such a perfect and sound intelligence system, it is difficult to believe that the Emperor had no information about the writings of Khafi Khan, Niamat Khan-i-Ali and other critics, who were unleashing frenzy of attacks against the Emperor, the nobles and imperial armies against his move for the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda. In fact, it helps to

20. *Futuhat*, *fol.*. 145a.

understand that the Emperor had a liberal attitude which never forced him to take action against them.

The *Futuhat* portrays the different aspects of Aurangzeb's character and personality e.g. the spell of uncertainity which overtook him during the war of succession; entering into the frank and fair dialogue with Jahan Ara Begum ; giving audience to the nobles; sending faked letters to the nobles of Dara and other similar communication to Prince Muhammad Akbar; enrolling the nobles in the imperial service ; condemning the faulters and appreciating the valorous deeds of nobles. It also refers to the personality of an affectionate father, weeping to see his dying son, Prince Muhammad Sultan; persuading Prince Muhammad Azam with his paternal affection to avoid the path of disobedience ; condemning Prince Akbar and Prince Muhammad Muazzam and then sending the latter under surveillance for his misdeed and reprimanding Prince Kam Bakhsh for his negligence of education and a man of determination, words, promises and actions.

As to the justice of the Emperor, a specimen cited below shall suffice his love for it. As Shaikh Jahan, the commandant of Asirgarh, had forcibly committed adultory with the wife of Sambha, who was confined there and she had become pregnant. When the matter was reported to the Emperor, the aforesaid commandant was summoned to the court and he came there. Salabat Khan was ordered to place him under surveillance. The latter asked his servants to bring him at night after disarming (him.) But his sense of bravery impelled him to refuse the removal of arms from his body. And during the discussion, taking off the *Jamdhar* from his waist, he pierced it into his stomach. He fell down on the ground and became unconscious. The whole incident was reported to the Emperor and he ordered that at the moment, "the Shaikh should be handed over to the Qazi-ul-Quzat but on his getting well, he should be presented in the court."[21]

Ishwardas, as far as possible, avoids portraying the

21. Ibid. fol. 138a.

individual character of the nobles, where he has to say anything about the nobles, he holds very balanced view. For example : Prince Muazzam had a quarrel with Dilir Khan in the Deccan. The Khan has been described in the following ways : "Dilir Khan, by birth a Daud-Zai Rohilla, was one of the most distinguished and gallant knights of his time and had rendered excellent services to the state. Apart from his martial qualities and fame, he was very God-fearing and used to remain in the company of saints and scholars or observed fasts or prayers. In spite of all his virtuous deeds and pious actions, sometimes he set aside his dedication to God and became extremely cruel."[22]

The *Futuhat* does not only contain details about the dimensions of forts, but also of artillery pieces, fitted in there. The fort of Bijapur is two and a half (2½) *karoh jarib* in length and has a circuit of three hundred cubit (zira) and half karoh. *Malik-e-Maidan* was very big and strong gun. It was five and half (5½) cubit (zira) in length and it weighted four and one fourth (4¼) maunds. It could fire a ball weighting two and a half (2½) maunds. Of the same type were two other guns Ranmandal and Hazara Bangadi, which were mounted on strong turrets at a little distance from the fort.[23]

As far as the literary value of the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* is concerned, it also begins with a highly verbose encomium on God and advice that "The rulers, who are sent by the Almighty, were enlightened and cautioned that the differences of religions and sects, which in reality affirm the being of God, should not see in communal and sectarian light." With the same encomium, he uses laudatory titles for Auranzeb such as Zil-e-Subhani Khalifa-ur-Rehmani Badshah Alamgir Abu Muzafar Mohi-uddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Ghazi Khuldullah-Tala and Qadre Qudrat Sulaiman-i-Munzilat etc. etc. He has frequently levelled abuses on all the rebellious persons irrespective of caste, colour, creed, birth, region and religion.[24]

22. Ibid. fol. 59a.
23. Ibid. fol. 105 a-b.
24. The style is not similar to the *Alamgir Nama*, which plainly shows the set official pattern of writings of the Mughal Court. In such writings one finds that the narrations are not only prolonged, but pedantic also.

Occasionally, Ishwardas quotes Persian verses also. For example; "What is in my mind but what is the intention of providence."[25] "Nobody has seen his own death with his own eyes but today, I am seeing with my own eyes that my soul is going away from me."[26] "When death brought out its hands from sky, all wise men became deaf and dumb."[27] He uses various Hindi words also which makes his writings more laudable.

Despite its value as a great work, a close study of the *Futuhat* discloses a number of defects as well which can be categorised likewise. First, he narrats

---

ما در چه خیالم و فلک در چه خیال

25. Futuhat fol. 8a.

رفتن جان را بچشم خود ندیده هیچ کس
من بچشم خویش می بینم که جانم میرود.

26. Ibid. fol. 26a.

قضا چون ز گردون بر آورد سر
همه عاقلان کور گشتند و کر

. fol. 61 b.

certain events or occurrences in wrong sequence, thus a casual reader of the book gets confused. A comparison with other contemporary and near-contemporary sources brings to surface his utter disregard of the chronological method. The following examples illustrate his faulty sequence of events :—

i) The conquest of Golconda has been discussed before the conquest of Bijapur. Actually, Golconda was conquered on 21st September 1687 A.D. while Bijapur on 12th September, 1686 A.D. There is a year's gap between the two conquests. Ishwardas places Golconda first and Bijapur later.

ii) He places the rebellion of the Mundyas (Satnamis) earlier than the Afghan rebellion.

Second, he is also guilty of disregard for accurate dates. So far as possible he avoids mentioning dates and it is seldom that he mentions an exact date. Wherever he has mentioned any specific dates, he commits an error. For instance :—

i) On 5th Zil-hij. A.H. 1097 the Emperor went to examine the sector (morchal) of Saf Shikan Khan;

ii) On 17th Zil-hij, 30, R.Y. the Emperor arrived in Sholapur,

iii) On 15th Rabiul I, the Emperor encamped at Bidar;

Third, Ishwardas confuses the names of persons and places also.

Despite these defects his account is not without authenticity. He has not presented an ugly picture through his narration which is neither skilfully woven nor interspersed with wit and humour, nor with satirical remarks. Moreover, there is no ambiguity in his observations also.

In the light of the above description, honest presentation of facts appears to be the chief merit of Ishwardas, and even where he appears to be biased, he has not distorted facts. This intellectual bias was neither directed against any individual, nor due to any particular motive, but is the result of his honest and deep-seated political and religious convictions.

His intellectual make-up was not reactionary, and all his judgements of men or affairs and even selection of events are influenced by this standard, which often leads him not to make any interpolations in the narrative. He does not impose his own views on the events or the characters portrayed by him. It was an objective history that he was writing. He viewed the past as it actually was, but not as it should have been in accordance with his ideals and it was to illustrate or to emphasise by contrast that he selected his events.

In short, the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* provides abundant material, which consciously or unconsciously has been overlooked by other contemporary and near-contemporary chroniclers of Aurangzeb's reign.

The subject matter of the Persian work here rendered into English is of sufficiently universal interest to warrant an appeal not merely to the experts and specialists of Aurangzeb's reign, but also to the thoughtful men and women to whom Indian history is a living concern. Various Persian words have not been translated into English such as *Subedar*, *Nazim*, *Harkara*, *Saat*, *Kotwal*, *Farman*, *Karoh*, *Mansabdars* etc. and foot-notes, again have been restricted to a minimum.

Tasneem Ahmad

Contents

Preface

Thousand upon thousand thanks and praises to the High and Great Almighty who created the sky, earth and the entire universe with the twinkle of an eye and made it fresh and prosperous with his Soloman Divine Power (fol. 4b). For the administration and the beautification of the World, He sent a few Emperors, who possessed remarkable and distinguished qualities, and gave all the fourfold coloured Worlds under their rule, so that the high and low may have peace. They should work hard for the prosperity of the population and the progress of World. With the might of their swords they might crush the seditions and oppressions and enjoy the blessings of the oppressed and unblessed. The differences of religions and sects, which in reality affirmed the being of God, should not see in sectarian and communal light. Their fragrance should always flourish and amuse the Universe and in the wake' of multitude should see the exhibition of the Solitariness (fol. 5a), should give preference to win the hearts of people, always remain warned in the World, be bowed down before the Almighty humbly because He performs His likings through these specially bestowed persons. It is great pleasure for the Universe and the descendants of Adam that when the transactors of the Great Divine were ordered that at such pious and fortunate time a World illuminating sun should be born, keeping in mind the Will and Desire of God, to turn the dominions of Hindustan (fol. 5b) into paradise and whose orders be obeyed in the Seven Worlds and who knows the hidden and secret differences and may be able to provide a just rule to the people was raised to the throne.

... ...The Emperor, Alamgir Abu Muzaffar Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Ghazi Khuldullah Talah . . . . at an auspicious hour in the month of Ramzan-ul-Mubarak ascended the throne of Hindustan with the blessings of the Divine to translate the will and desire of the Almighty... In the wake of the glorious succession of the Emperor bravery and success heralded all over there. Blessing, joy and pleasure started to reign and extended patronage to exalt professions and excellence. Act and deed worked together. Seditions and rebellions became like a vain dream. Oppression and exploitation were stopped. The garden of justice was added with new edifice of glory. For the beautification and proper functioning of the garden (country) peace was restored and the desires and wishes of the people were fulfilled. The lap of indigents, poors and deservings were filled with gold and silver (fol. 6a). The source of blessings and qualities opened new venues which heralded the banners of fresh successes. Lion became friendly with cow while wolf with sheep and the high flying hawk settled with sparrow in the same nest, and the wolf became guard of sheep. Even if volumes are written in praise of good qualities of the Emperor, it shall not be more than a flower in garden or drop in ocean. Therefore it is better that the reins of pen may be withdrawn from the said valley and come to the real object.

In short this humble self, Ishwardas of the Nagar caste of Brahman, resident of Taiyabah Pattan joined the service of......Qazi-ul-Quzzat Hazrat Shaikh-ul-Islam, who was known for his scholarship and piety, during the first stage of his youth and remained attached to him (the Qazi) till the age of thirty (fol. 6b). Since I was either an eye-witness to most of the events, which occurred during the reign of Aurangzeb or obtained informations about them from the Qazi.

I wanted to write a detailed account of the achievements of the predecessors (of Alamgir) and its information was obtained from the Qazi or was witnessed by me which I thought would comprise volumes. Keeping this in my mind, I decided to write a brief but important account of Aurangzeb's reign

which is captioned as the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* and it comprises seven topics. My purpose was that after going through it, the high-born may realize its importance, the educated may derive intellectual benefits, the illiterate may gain knowledge and the brave may seek inspiration of bravery. The cowards, on the other hand, may also long to undertake valorous deeds.*

* Abridged translation of the text—

Occurrence I Comprises

THE ILLNESS OF HAZRAT ALA KHAQANI, DETENTION OF THE EXALTED PERSONAGE IN THE FORT OF AKBARABAD BY MUHAMMAD DARA SHIKOH (fol. 7a), OUTBREAK OF TURMOIL IN THE EMPIRE, AND DEFEAT OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD SHUJA :—

Hazrat Ala Khaqani[1] (Shahjahan) had four pearls of the casket of the great empire and the great luminous jewels of the sublime Khilafat. Of them...Prince Muhammad Dara Shikoh, who was very dear to Ala Hazrat was the eldest and was appointed heir apparent so that, remaining in his presence he might be able to look after the affairs of the empire.[2] The other pearl (son)......Prince Muhammad Shuja Bahadur, was appointed the subedar (Sahib-i-subaki) of the dominion (wallayat) of Bengal and Orissa so that he may be able to administer that part of the country.[3] The command of the territory of Deccan was conferred upon...Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur the decoration of diadem of monarchy and beauty of the crown of empire[4] and the administration of the province (Suba) of Gujarat was assigned to......Prince Muhammad Murad Bakhsh.[5] All the four pearls of the ocean of imperial dignity (Khilafat), having gone to the places of their appointments (makan-i-muta alliqat) and addressed themselves to the task of administering justice and cherishing their subject (raiyat parwari). Specially, Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur (fol. 7b), reaching in the country of Deccan, engaged himself in many heroic battles and...conquered the forts of Bidar[6] and Golconda.[7] Separate volume would be

needed to write the account of these campaigns (launched by him there).

Since the time Hazrat Ala Khaqani (Shahjahan) had ascended the throne, upto thirty-second years of his reign in the organisation of administration and distribution of justice he remained like a fresh and verdant garden. By chance and by 'the Will of The Almighty' Ala Hazrat, who after all was a human being, fell ill in A.H. 1067.[8] Soon after this occurrence some evil-intentioned and short-sighted courtiers incited Muhammad Dara Shikoh. It is well known that whenever bad days and evil-times approach a person, imaginary fears and destructive ideas beset his mind and tarry there. The exalted personage was himself staying with all grandeur and prosperity in the capital (Darul Khilafat), Shahjahanabad, a heaven like city which had been built at his instance. (But) Muhammad Dara Shikoh, by reason of his defective intellect and want of discretion, at the incitement of short-sighted destroyers of families, snapped the cord of wisdom and caution and began to hatch in his mind a fruitless design and vain ambition of ascending the throne of the empire. According to the advice of that mischievous group, it was settled that the exalted personage (fol.8a) on account of great precautions could not be placed under surveillance in the fort (of Shahjahanabad), should by any means be brought in the capital of Akbarabad and be imprisoned in the strong fort there and that each of his brothers, with whom he (Dara) had deep rooted animosity, should also be killed one by one at this time when all the nobles (amirs of the empire) were under his control.[9] He was (however) unaware of the saying :- ... What is in my mind, but what is the intention of Provident.

That Prince (Dara Shikoh) though in appearance was appointed only heir apparent (waliahd), in reality enjoyed complete control over the affairs of the state and to the exalted personage was left nothing but his name as sovereign, the *Khutba* and the *Sikka*. Whatever he (Dara Shikoh) submitted was accepted (by the Emperor). As he was the favourite son, his wishes received precedence in all important

matters of the state. But in spite of so many privileges of rank, status, right, favour, kindness and honour, at the hand of a kind and loving father, he did not pay heed to it and compelled by unworthy haughtiness and uneven pride, his mind became confused and perturbed, and from sheer selfish ambition and evil-consequence gird up his loins on faithlessness and sedition.[10] He fabricated the reports and communications of the *Wakils* of the Deccan and Gujarat under the cover of their seals. He reported to the exalted personage that, "Muhammad Aurangzeb and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, both of them making common cause, have employed troops and soldiers beyond count and measures, have taken the path of sedition (fol. 8b) and rebellion and are intending to move with forced marches to the capital of (Agra) and to strengthen its fort and create trouble in the whole empire. Thereafter he placed the devilish communications before the sublime monarch for his perusal and having this imparted the shape of truth to the subject of sedition and rebellion, he convinced the exalted and noble mind (of the emperor) properly of going from Shahjahanabad to Agra and of strengthening its towers and battlements. That ignoble son, who was watching for an opportunity and proper time, imprisoned him in the aforesaid fort of Akbarabad,[11] struck his foot with the axe of villainy and ingratitude and spread the news of his illness among the classes and masses. He also despatched his own officers to all sides and sealed the roads and highways, to keep the bird enclosed in his nest. Thereafter, he directed that the letters, written on behalf of the *Wakils* and nobles (amirs) etc. of the princes be placed in original before him and nobody must write anything from the court (to them). He imprisoned all the *wakils* and nobles (amirs) of the Princes who were in the imperial court.[12]

But the providential power of the Glorious God, is so designed that the managers of fate and destiny convey news from long distances, beyond the encirclement of human strength or human wisdom in all its freshness to every nook and corner (fol. 9a). The first to receive this report was Sultan Muhammad Shuja.[13] Immediately he began to assemble

a large force and, having collected artillery and other equipments of war, he, accompanied by all the nobles (amirs) posted in that province (Suba) like Sayied Alam Khan,[14] Jan Beg Khan,[15] Illahwardi Khan,[16] Saadatmand Khan[17] and others, started towards the capital, Akbarabad. By forced marches, he reached Bahadurpur, which formed a part of the dependency (pargana) of Banaras and was situated at a distance of two *kos* (from Banaras) on the other side of the river Ganges.[18] When, Muhammad Dara Shikoh received the news of Muhammad Shuja's arrival with his large army at Bahadurpur, he told Dilir Khan,[19] Bahadur Khan alias Izzat Khan,[20] Sayied Firoze Khan,[21] Zulfiqar Khan,[22] Raja Jai Singh,[23] Raja Inder Man Dhandera[24] and Raja Nand Gaur[25] that the report of insurgence of Muhammad Shuja, his marching with a large army towards this side and his arrival at Bahadurpur, had been reported to the exalted personage, and he had appointed Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh,[26] his eldest son, to chastise him (Shuja) and he had appointed all of them to accompany the prince " Therefore the aforesaid Prince fully equipped with material and other requisites and accompanied by the said nobles (amirs), left (for Bahadurpur).[27] Marching stage by stage, the Prince reached the city of Banaras, crossing the river Ganges (**fol. 9b**), he arrived in precinct of Bahadurpur and laid out his camp there. He arranged his troops in the field of battle there and for two months there was continuous exchange of gun fire. But because of the large number of troops under Muhammad Shuja, the Prince could not dare take the offensive or otherwise overwhelm him.

Moreover, during the same period the news of the turmoil and trouble was received by Muhammad Murad Bakhsh in Gujarat. He also set about recruiting a large army and spent five lakh rupees a month in giving salary to the soldiers. Meanwhile, Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi,[28] the faujdar of Pattan, a dependency of the province (Suba) of Gujarat, arrived in Ahmadabad and paid his respects to Prince Murad Bakhsh. There were differences between Ali Naqi,[29] the diwan of the Prince and the Khan. He (Ali

Naqi) had gained full control over all the departments of administration. In tyranny and oppression, he had no equal. His mind was always saturated with haughtiness and pride. With the result that all the state officers (kar pardazan-i-sarkar) were tired of his pin-pricks. So they were looking for the day when this tyrant would fall into the vortex of calamity. The conflict between him and the Khan passed all bounds. As the time of retribution for his high-handedness upon the people, had come by to great limits, the cry of the oppressed and the lamentation of the afflicted produced their (desired) effect. In short, the event happened thus—when Qutbuddin Khan presented himself before the Prince, he brought with him a letter of Ali Naqi, addressed to Dara Shikoh, which indicated the latter's collaboration with (Dara) (fol. 10a), and his sense of faithlessness and ingratitude. He handed it over to the Prince, who had gone to the Bagh-i-Jahan Bakhsh for enjoyment and amusement. After seeing the letter of Ali Naqi, the prince sent for him to his presence and handed his own letter to him for perusal. When he saw the letter, he bent his head in shame. Whatever excuses and apologies, he offered, the Prince did not listen to them and exclaimed:—"In spite of many profess kindness and affection for you, from the vileness of your nature you have turned traitor." Unable to control his anger he struck him with the spear which he had in his hand and killed him outright.[30] After the occurrence of this incident the state of affairs at the court and the outbreak of trouble was made known to him. In these circumstances, he conferred upon Khwaja Shahbaz Khan, entitled Sayied Rustam Khan,[31] a special robe (Khilat-i-Khasa), an elephant, an Iraqi horse, a studded sword and despatched him with a force of 6,000 (six thousand) horse-men (sawars) for the conquest of the well-fortified fort of Surat. The Khan reached Surat and desired to lay siege to it. As the fort had been constructed on the sea-shore and its fortifications are surrounded by water on three sides (fol. 10b), he could not completely encircle it. (over and above) On the top of the fort many large and small pieces of artillery had also arranged at a distance of a yard (zira). It made his task more difficult. The Khan sent to Mirza

Kamran, who was an associate and confederate of Sayied Tayyeb, the commandant (qiladar) a message of hope and promotion saying that, "as according to the predictions of astrologers the throne of the empire (Khilafat) has been destined by providence for the Prince, hence let the commandant be told that, keeping his welfare in mind, he should atonce declare his obedience (to the Prince) and surrender the fort with treasure (to his men). This would lead to his promotion and higher rank (alu-rutbat) otherwise, I would in any way capture the fort and it would add to his anxiety and disappointment." Mirza Kamran, bearing in mind his own safety, tried his level best to convince the commandant (qiladar) holding out hopes and threatening him with fear but he (the commandant) was not moved from the path of loyalty and fidelity to the exalted Majesty.

Rustam Khan saw that the commandant did not pursue the path of obedience and submission, he was compelled to place in disposition his army and artillery and other equipment for taking the fort and started the reduction of the fort. He had hardly covered the distance of a plain that the garrison opened cannon fire from the top of the fort in such a manner that nobody could approach it. Therefore, he halted when he was thrown up, raised batteries (damdamas) and from morning till evening and from evening till morning bombarded the fortifications till he had battered its walls on every side (fol. 11a). But when the Khan found that it would take time to reduce the fort by gun fire, he devised a plan to dig a tunnel, which is called *surang* in Hindi. There was a broad and deep moat which was filled with sea water. The Khan ordered his men to dig a yard (zira) long tunnel under the moat, which was carried upto the ramparts of the fort. He mined the fortifications on the four sides upto the sea and filled the mines. He filled with fifty *maunds* of gun-powder and ignited it. The gun-powder shot up into flames and its blast blew up the tower and also forty yards of the fort wall, fifty light pieces of artillery and six hundred gun men, who were posted there, shot up from the ground into air like raw cotton. In this situation, Rustam Khan opened

the attack with his army and entered into the fort. At last the commandant could not bear the brunt of battle and sued for mercy ; and relying upon the words of Rustam Khan came to wait upon him and he handed over the fort and its treasure to him.[32] The aforesaid Khan, taking the vast treasure which comprised of a large amount of his possession, paid his respects to the Prince and gave proof of his good services he became the object of favours and special attention. Thereafter Sultan Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, with full confidence and certainty sat on the throne of empire (Khilafat), read the *Khutba* in his name, struck the gold and silver coins and extended his imperial sway over the entire land of Gujarat.[33]

Muhammad Dara Shikoh received the news, which greatly perplexed him.[34] Immediately (**fol. 11b**), he wrote a letter under his own signature to Prince Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh which said "Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, who has girt up loins of opposition, has collected a large force and with false ideas has placed himself on the throne of empire (Khilafat) in Gujarat. He intends to come here with all expeditions, and create trouble and insurgence. Therefore, the eye of the empire (Sulaiman Shikoh), after disposing of the affair of Muhammad Shuja in whatever manner he can, should reach him with all haste here so that adversary (Murad) may be properly punished right at this time, he arrives here."[35] In short, after receiving and perusing the letter, Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh summoned Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan and appraised them with contents of the letter in which he expressed himself to this effect that "Muhammad Shuja has a large army (lashkar) and heavy artillery with him. For two months, we have not attained our objective with warfare. Over and above it, a crisis has cropped up in Gujarat. Therefore we should chalk out a plan in a manner that, having settled the conflict here, we should return with satisfaction to the capital, (Akbarabad). Then having equipped adequately with material and other requisites, we should march towards the province (suba) of Gujarat and carry the flag of conquest and success for the

suppression of sedition in that part of the country also." Hearing this Raja Jai Singh, who had no equal in diplomacy (tadbir-e-nazir) suggested that, "Here is a plan of action; and its details are on the following lines: We apparently desert from your camp and join (**fol. 12a**) Muhammad Shuja. At an opportune moment, we shall take him prisoner or else by stratagem we shall severe his head, which is now embroiled with imaginary intuitions from his body and bring it before you."

In short the truth of the matter is that Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan, unanimously sent a message to Ilahwardi Khan and Jan Beg Khan, who were trustworthy officers in the camp of Muhammad Shuja and were known for their matchless bravery and courage, saying that: "We, too, have been at loggerheads with Prince Dara Shikoh for a long time and this is the reason that prince Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh too is not well-inclined towards us. For this our hearts are not with the Prince and whatever effort we make it is wasted. Therefore, we desire that, through you, we enter the service of the prince (Shuja) and thus we shall get eternal felicity. Whatever is in our heart shall be revealed to him. We shall pledge our good services to him and shall become objects of his kindness and attention." Ilahwardi Khan and Jan Beg Khan, who were ignorant of treachery and deception of the age, were attracted by fruitless proposal in their simplicity and of their nature communicated the desire of Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan to the prince saying that, "all this is a sign of good fortune for your Highness that the servants of the state and the subordinates of the empire (Khilafat), of their own will are seeking service with you and want to be faithful and obedient to the orders of your Highness." But they ignored the maxim that whenever the deadly enemy fails in combat and battle, he resort to flattery (**fol. 12b**), and sychophancy. In short, Prince Muhammad Shuja, who was sunk in the deep whirlpool of sovereignty, was easily carried away by a language full of cunning and duplicity. And the truth is that the sun of his power and glory was receding from success towards failure

and the days of his achievements and fulfilments of desire were also coming to close.[86] Anyhow he gave permission to Ilahwardi Khan and Jan Beg Khan to let Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan come. The same night Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan, with a few selected, active and experienced soldiers, paid their respects to Prince Muhammad Shuja. Expressing their loyalty and faithfulness, they submitted that "tomorrow, we, the humble servants, with our soldiers, will march from the rear of their successful army and enter your encampment. Then forming ourselves into the vanguard, in the twinkling of an eye time, we shall take Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh prisoner and bring him before your Highness. After that, we shall march towards the capital Akbarabad, where we shall capture Muhammad Dara Shikoh, who has nobody like us with him to oppose or stop us (**fol. 13a**). Then we shall place your Highness, with all signs of good fortune on the throne and would be ready for your service." Muhammad Shuja conciliated both of them, conferred robes (Khilats) upon them and allowed them to go. They (Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan) had gone only a few paces away, when Khan-i-Alam, who was clever, farsighted and master of diplomacy, submitted to Muhammad Shuja that "both of them, who appeared before Highness are hypocrites and whatever they have contrived is totally unbelievable and their words should not be trusted. As both the wild beasts through the good fortune of your Highness, have uninvited fallen under the feet of eternal enemy crushing prestige, the situation demands that at this opportune moment, both of them be put to sword. After killing them, nobody would be in a position to resist us. Then the capture of Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh would not be a distant affair and the sources of the conquest of this empire will be ready at hand and available." Muhammad Shuja replied, "Acting against the promise given, is not permissible in the rules of justice and conquest. It is neither lauded nor approved."

Next morning Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan, with a large army, numerous of elephants, and lightning effective park of artillery, marched towards the west where Muhammad

Shuja had planted his artillery and out-flanking it they went towards the east to the rear of his army. Khan-i-Alam, who was posted as the advance guard of Muhammad Shuja, noticed that a large army (**fol. 13b**), was advancing. He, at once, appeared before Muhammad Shuja and reported the matter to him. He remarked that "they are coming for tendering submission and obedience and they will never give battle." The Khan said : "These are not the signs of submission and obedience. It is an open deception and clear treachery. Do not say that none of your servants warned you. Still, nothing has been lost. If you order we shall challenge them and shall try to repeal them." Muhammad Shuja, who had been carried away by the loose talk of those trouble shooters, paid no heed to the submission of the Khan. Meanwhile, both the commanders (sardars) came nearer and opened battle. When the news was carried to Muhammad Shuja, he woke up from his slumber, but what could he do now ! He had lost the reins of deliberation from his hand and the enemy was getting the upper hand (there). Qarawal Khan, taking the initiative, offered resistence, but it was clear that nothing could be achieved by one person. When he was hard-pressed by the enemy he moved aside. After this, Wahid Khan Afghani, with his own men, came to help the above-mentioned Khan and said to him. "This is not the day for anybody to withdraw from the battle-field because the enemy is determined to make a short shrift of us. Therefore it is better to die fighting heroically than to be killed with humiliation and shame. Dying in the service of the master (Prince Muhammad Shuja) would bring honour in both the worlds." He then seized the reins of his horse (**fol. 14a**) and took above-mentioned Khan with him. In short both of them, deadly lions, sought the batter of the enemy, and planting firmly the foot of ambition, put a large number of the brave soldiers to death and wounded (a large number) also. Both stood their ground and fought in a manner that not a single person from the enemy's side could dare face them. For four *gharis*, a constant battle took place which made the battle field tulips. In the end, (both) of them attained martyrdom. Thereafter occurred an artil-

lery duel, it killed a large number of men. For two or three hours, an exchange of arrows and musket fire continued thus killing a large number of soldiers.[37]

At last, Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan, placing tall elephants in front, attacked the sector (morchal) of Mir Atish Ilahwardi Khan. Earlier, both of them had come to the Khan and professed friendship ; but now accompanied as they were by a large army, they joined conflict. The brave soldiers from either side, were so locked up with each other that the entire battle-field changed into a tulip garden. Thus, Prince Zainul Abidin, son of Muhammad Shuja, who was in his early youth **(fol. 14b)**, seeing the intensity of conflict, was unable to control himself and, drawing the reins of his horse, left the battle-field with some of his followers. Thus he saved his life from extinction. But Muhammad Shuja, who was mounted on an elephant, did not only encourage his young soldiers, but picking up a bow, he killed a sizeable number of his opponents with arrows. Meantime, many of the unfaithful followers...anxious for their own lives and fearing the consequences of wounds, turned tail because they thought that, "defeat was inevitable" and bringing themselves near the elephant of Muhammad Shuja submitted "still, there is time, let the master of the world (sahib-i-alimiyan) get down from the elephant, mount a horse and leave the army (lashkar) as quickly as possible, otherwise within a few minutes, Prince Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh would arrive and then it would not be possible to make an exit." Thus, in this adverse situation, Muhammad Shuja thought (to himself), "By deceit, my enemy has upset all my plans. If I remain alive I can make amendments in the best possible way. Now at present, without flight, there is no hope of (saving) life." Leaving behind all the tents, the wealth, equipments, baggages, elephants and horses etc. etc., accompanied by a few chosen men **(fol. 15a)**, getting into the gun boat (niwara), he headed towards the river. After some hours, Prince Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh reached there, plundered the (fugative's) camp and captured all the material i.e.

the treasure, elephants and horses etc. and sounded the drums of success.[38]

Meanwhile, Prince Sulaiman Shikoh received the news that Muhammad Shuja had reached the fort of Munghir (Mungir) and had taken protection there and that he was busy in assembling the soldiers. Immediately, Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh went to Munghir and laid siege to the fort. Muhammad Shuja, who had succeeded in strengthening the defences of the fort with light and heavy pieces of artillary, began firing heavy guns. Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh also distributed his sectors (morchals) constructed elevated batteries (damdamas) and mounted his artillery on their top. Thus, disposing his gun on a higher level, he began to bombard the defences with heavy guns and for fifteen days there was heavy exchange of fire from both the sides. The stores in the fort were limited and whatever was there, it had been consumed. Soon the garrison was much perturbed because of the shortage of food supply. On the closing of means of communications, nobody had the courage even to move. This state of affairs worried Muhammad Shuja and he saw no way out except to escape (from the fort). At mid-night he came out of the back door of the fort and left for his destination and, although a hectic search was made, he could not be traced. Thereafter, Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh stayed with his army in that region to organise the administration and tone up the law and order. Making all the mentioned arrangements, he left for the capital Akbarabad, to see his father.[39]

FOOT NOTES

1. The Futuhat addresses the Emperor, Shahjahan as Hazrat Ala Khaqani.

2. Muhammad Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shahjahan, was born on 20th March, 1615 A.D. at Ajmer, See : Waris, 96a and 97a ; Kambu, 7b and Masum, 6b.

3. Next to Muhammad Dara Shikoh was Muhammad Shuja, who was born on 23rd June, 1616 A.D. at Ajmer. Masum, 32 b.

4. Muhammad Aurangzeb was born on 24th October, 1618 A.D. at Dauhad. *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, 47.

5. The Youngest son, Muhammad Murad Bakhsh was born on 7th June, 1624 A.D. Waris, 38a.

6. "Aurangzeb took Bidar on 4th June, 1657 A.D. Jedhe (SS), 8 ; For details see also : *Adab, 109b-110a, 119b, 122a, 127a, 146a, Basatin, 348 (brief)* ; Kambu, 2b, 3a ; Bhim Sen, 1, 15, *History of Aurangzeb, I & II, 238-42*, J.N. Sarkar and *History of the Marathas*, I & II, 150, Grant Duff.

7. The Mughals occupied Haiderabad on 23rd January, 1656 A.D. For details see also : *Travels in India (Ed. Ball, 1889)*. Travervier ; Sarkar op. cit. I & II, 206-8 and Grant Duff. op. cit. I & II.

8. Prince Khurram, better known to history as Shahjahan the magnificent, was born on the night of the 5th January, 1592 A.D. at Lahore in the 36th Year of Akbar's reign. He ascended the throne on Monday 4th February, 1628 A.D. On 16th Sept., 1657/7th Zil. H.A.H. 1067, the Emperor suddenly fell ill of strangrary and constipation. For details see also : *A.N. 27, 80-81 ; M.A. 2* ; Masum, 29b-30b ; Kambu, 6a, 7a. *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, Allahabad publications, 1958 ; B.P. Saksena & Sarkar op. cit., I, & II, 172.

9. "Shah Jahan had four sons. All of them were past youth, and all had gained experience as subedars of provinces and commanders of armies. But there was no brotherly love among them, though the three younger princes—Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad were usually drawn together by a common jealousy of the eldest, Dara Shikoh, their father's favourite and heir apparent. The ill-feeling between Dara and Aurangzeb in particular was so bitter and had continued growing bitter for so many years past, that it was the talk of the whole Empire, and peace had been maintained between them by keeping Aurangzeb far away from the Court and his eldest brother." Masum, 6b ; see also : Kambu, 8b ; Aqil, 10 ; Adab, 117 b ; Anecdotes of Aurangzeb, 2 and 5.

10. "Depending Kings, tributary princess, offenders under the imperial wrath, aspirants to office or title,

all bought or begged Dara's mediation before they could approach the Emperor. Government officials and new recipients of titles, after having had audience of the Emperor were sent by him to pay their respects to the crown Prince. Srinagar Raja makes Dara his mediator, and procures pardons also. Waris, 85a, 87b, 97b. "In short, everything was done to make the public familiar with the idea that he was their future sovereign, and to render the transfer of the crown to him on Shahjahan's death easily." See; *Lataif-ul-Akhbar*.

11. "The Emperor himself decided to move towards Agra." Kambu 6a, 7b, 8b.

"Meantime Dara's partisans and followers received from the Emperor promotions and high administrative offices, and even the province of Bihar was given to him in addition to the Punjab and Multan. Dara also set about acquiring new friends: Khalil-ullah Khan was promoted and appointed the *Subedar of Delhi*, and Qasim Khan was tempted with the *Subedari* of Gujarat from which it was decided to remove Murad." Kambu. 6b, 11a ; Faiyaz, 413-414.

12. "During Shah Jahan's illness, Dara had been so anxious to suppress all news from leaking out, that with the exception of himself and one or two trusted ministers, no one was allowed to approach the Emperor's sick bed. Feeling sure that his brothers; would oppose his succession, he took every measure to prevent letters from reaching them. Guards were appointed to watch the ferries and no messenger was allowed to pass. The official news writers of the princes were interned and forbidden to communicate with their chiefs on any account. Isa Beg, Aurangzeb's agent at court, was imprisoned and his property escheated: Faiyaz 414. See also for the recall of the nobles. *Lub-ut-Tawarekh*.

"Mir Jumla, the confidant of Dar's rival, Aurangzeb, towards the end of September, was removed from the *Wizaratship* and his son, Muhammed Amin, his Wakil at Delhi, was forbidden entrance to the office. Orders were also sent to Mir Jumla, Mahabat Khan and other imperial servants to return to the Court with the reinforcements that they had led to Aurangzeb's army for the Bijapur army." *A.N.* 29; dis K 10a. "In case of Mir Jumla the orders of recall was not preemptory, he was first of all to secure the surrender of Parenda fort from the Bijapuris. But Mahabat Khan and Rao Chattar Sal were commanded to come away immediately with the Muslim and the Rajput troops respectively of the supplementary force ; and they did set without waiting to take leave of Aurangzeb. They returned to Agra and had audience of the Emperor on 20th December." Kambu, 5b, 6a-b 8a, 10b ; Aqil, 16. "Though Dara possessed broad religious views, and was a devotee of the pantheistic philosophy, he was fickle, haughty, peevish and unpractical. He was susceptible to flattery, and his council was swayed by cychophancy. His life at court and the

excessive love of his father had spoilt him, and kept him ignorant of the art of administration, or the necessity and manner of winning the hearts of good officers. Hence both by temperament and education he was unfit to face the ordeal before him." *Lataif-ul-Akhbar* gives a thumb nail picture of Dar's character.

13. For the earlier correspondence between Aurangzeb, Shuja and Murad see : Inayatnama, Aurangzeb to Shuja *ff. 37, 38b, Jami-ul-Insha, Murad* to *Aurangzeb ff. 359, 375.*

14. Sayied Alam Khan Barha was a mansabdar of 2,000/1000. Salih, III, 325, *A.N. 239-252, 258* ; Mamuri, 105b ; *Badshah Nama, II, 727 ; M.U. II, 454-56 ;* Aqil, 103, 129 ; also Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 132.

15. Jan Beg Khan was the Wazir of Muhammad Shuja. Masum 40 a.

16. Ilahwardi Khan, See K.K. 85 ; Manucci, I, 330-31 ; *Riyaz-us-Salatin, 217* ; *M.U.I, 207* ; Aqil, 127 ; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 133.

17. Saadatmand Khan was not with Shuja.

18. "The story of Shah Jahan's illness, with its embellishments by rumour, reached Shuja at Rajmahal, the then Capital of Bengal. He immediately crowned himself as king, took the pompous title of Abu Fauz Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad, Timur III, Alexander II, Shah Shuja Bahadur Ghazi. The *Khutba* was read in his name in the mosques, coins were struck bearing his titles." K K. II, 5 ; Masum, 32b, 34a ; Kambu, 9a ; *A.N. 31* ; *Adab, 215b.*

19. Dilir Khan, a Rohilla, held the mansab of 5,000/ Zat and 5,000 Sawars (3,000 x-2-3h). *A.N. 1030 ; M.U. II, 42-56 ;* also Athar Ali, op. cit., 177.

20. Baqi Beg, Bahadur Khan was a mansabdar of 4,000/ Zat and 3,000 Sawars, Salih, III, 277 ; *M.U.I. 444-47; A.N. ; 125, 170* ; Mamuri, 102b ; also Athar Ali, op. cit. 113.

21. Sayied Firoze Rustam Khan held the mansab of 1,500/ 200. *A.N. 161*, 213 ; also Athar Ali op. cit. 116.

22. Muhammad Beg Zulfiqar Khan, a Turani by birth was a mansabdar of 4,000 Zat and 2,000 Sawars. *A.N. 51, 62, 76, 92, 157* ; *M.U., II, 89-93* ; Mamuri 97a ; Aqil, 39, 59 ; also Athar Ali op. cit., 122.

23. Umdat-ul-Mulk, Mirza Raja Jai Singh Kachwaha, a Rajput Zamindar held the highest rank of 7,000/ 7,000 (2-3h) after Aurangzeb's succession. *A.N. 907; SDA, 52* ; *M.U. III, 568-77* ; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 175.

24. "Aurangzeb released from prison and took with himself Raja Inder Man Dhandera of Malwa." *Adab. 99* ; *M.U. II, 265.*

25. Raja Nand Gaur has been confused with Arjun Gaur, who was the mansabdar of 2,000 Zat and 1.500 Sawars. *A.N. 65, 70; Salih, III, 287,*

300, 458 ; *Aurang-Nama 14* ; Mamuri. 99b ; Hatim, 21a ; also Athar Ali op. cit., 116.

26. Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh, the eldest son of Dara Shikoh had military rank as high as those of the Emperor's younger sons. Waris, 96a, 116a.

27. "By the middle of November 1657 A.D. Shah Jahan was completely recovered, and important matters which had hitherto been kept from him, could no longer be withheld from him. Dara informed the Emperor about Shuja's independence and his advance from Bengal. Shah Jahan consented to an army of 20000 cavalry (Sawars) 2000 foot musketeers and 200 barqandaz with other material being sent under the leadership of Raja Jai Singh. But as only a prince could cope with a prince, Dara's eldest son Sulaiman Shikoh was joined in the command." Masum, 32b-40b ; *A.N. 31* ; Kambu, 9a ; Masum, 34a ; K.K. II. 5, & *Adab, 215b.*

28. Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi, an Afghan, was a mansabdar of 3,000/3,000 (2-3h). *A.N. 139, 140* ; *Mirat, I, 240* ; *M.U., III, 103* ; Bhim Sen, 17a-b ; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 134.

29. Ali Naqi was the diwan and chief counsellor of Murad Bakhsh. K.K. II, 7-8.

30. If we can trust Muntakhabul Lubab, Ali Naqi fell a victim to a *faqir's* curse. Ibid. II, 7-9 ; Kambu, 10 ; 11a ; Faiyaz, 414, 420.

    The date of his killing was most probably some day in the first week of October as confirmation of the names reached Aurangzeb (turning from Bidar). On 29th October, and the first rumours had come some days earlier. *Adab, 201b* ; *A.N. 35* ; *Mirat, I, 249.* (Secondary).

31. Khwaja Shahbaz Khan, an eunch, held the mansab of 5,000. Mamuri, 96a ; 101b , Hatim, 9a ; Manucci, I, 301 ; *M.U.I, 298* ; Aqil, 95, also Athar Ali, op cit., 134.

32. William Finch in 1609 thus describes it, "the castle of Surat is on the south side of the river · well-walled, and surrounded by a ditch. The ramparts are provided with many good cannons, some of which are of vast size. Faiyaz, 421.

    In a letter to Shaista Khan, Murad pretends that he had merely sent his 6,000 troops (with guns) to draw his salary assigned on Surat treasury as usual, when the commandant, acting in Dara's interest, shut the gate of the fort into their face and opened fire on them ; and at the same time a letter from the son of commandant at court was intercepted reporting the death of Shahjahan Murad claims to have acted merely in self-defence. Faiyaz, 454. For the siege of Surat see : *Ibid*, 421, 22, 423, 459, 461, 462 ; *A.N.* 134 (*meagre*) ; Traveriner, I, 328-29 & K.K. II. 7.

33. "The despatches of victory and the keys of the fort were presented to Muhammad Murad at Ahmadabad on 26th December. But money was a more acceptable present, and he pressed his officers at Surat to send him all that they could load on fast camels ; for, in the meantime he had crowned himself and began to bestow upon his officers rewards and enlist new troops on a scale that soon exhausted his treasury." Faiyaz, 461-65.

34. "Meantime equally alarming news had arrived from Gujarat. There Murad had murdered diwan Ali Naqi (early in October) looted Surat city (early in November), and finally crowned himself (5th December). At first Dara sent him a letter purporting to proceed from the Emperor, transferring him from Gujarat to Berar. Dara thereby hoped to set one brother against another, as Berar was included in Aurangzeb's viceroyalty. Murad saw through the game, laughed the order to scorn, neither moved from Gujarat nor acted against Aurangzeb." Kambu, 10a-b, 11a ; Faiyaz, 414, 429.

35. Sulaiman Shikoh had obtained victory over Shuja. Ishwardas commits the chronological mistake. Dara despatched the letter to Sulaiman Shikoh only after when he had laid a siege at Munghir Masum. 40b.

36. A verse has been left out. See : *fol. 12b.*

37. Mir Isfandiar Mamuri and Sayied Ismail Bukhari provided safety to Shuja. Masum, 40b.

38. The other contemporary and near-contemporary sources do not witness the said narration of Ishwardas. See Masum, 34a, 40b, (Graphic description) A.N. 31.

About Shuja's loss it is mentioned that "Sulaiman's men plundered the entire camp. The tents, jewels, furniture and all sorts of other goods, beside money, horses and elephants were seized by the victors and Bengal troops had escaped with bare lives, and left everything behind. Shuja's own losses were estimated at fifty lakhs of rupees ; his wazir, Mirza Jan Beg lost six lakhs worth of property in addition to horses and elephants. Even the humblest nobles abandoned every thing. The total loss could not have fallen short of two crores of rupees. Masum, 40b, 41a ; see also ; *Jaipur Records.*

39. "Dara Shikoh wrote urging Sulaiman to patch up a truce with Shuja and hasten back to Agra to meet a new danger coming up from the South. Aurangzeb and Murad had advanced from the Deccan, joined their forces on the way, crushed the imperial army which barred their path at Dharmat (15th April), and were now in full march on the Capital." Masum, 52a-56a.

Occurrences II Comprises

(fol. 15b) BE FRIENDING OF MUHAMMAD MURAD BAKHSH BY MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB THROUGH CORRESPONDENCE, HIS MARCH TOWARDS MUSTAQARR-UR-KHILAFAT, AKBARABAD; JUNCTION OF THE FORCES OF BOTH THE BROTHERS IN THE VICINITY OF UJJAIN, THE BATTLE (IN THE SAID PLACE) WITH MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH BAHADUR; AND THE DEFEAT OF THE SAID MAHARAJA :-

The news of the battle (between Muhammad Shuja and Sulaiman Shikoh), the defeat of Muhammad Shuja and the victorious return of Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh to his exalted father, was conveyed through the writings of the *Wakils* etc. to Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb in the country of the Deccan, who be thought to himself that "all the great nobles (*amirs*) are with Dara Shikoh and I am all alone. God forbid that I may have to face the same situation as Muhammad Shuja (had to face). Though the victory is a gift from the Almighty, one should not neglect the world of device."[1]

(Therefore) first of all he paid attention to the Sayied, the Afghans and the Rajput horsemen (sawars) and then he issued orders to the great secretaries, (*Bakhshis*) and they recruited, collected 30,000 (thirty thousand) horsemen (sawars).[2] Getting satisfied with the recruitment of the army, as he had heard that Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, having collected about 70,000 horsemen (sawars)[3] had heralded the banner of Kingship in the country of Gujarat. Impelled by

his foresight, he suggested to himself that "the situation demands that at first he should establish cordial and friendly relations with Muhammad Murad Bakhsh (**fol. 16a**) and after the victory over Dara Shikoh should act according to the situation as it emerges." So moved by this praiseworthy thought and carried by this laudable idea, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Muhammad Murad Bakhsh congratulating him on his accession to the throne and on his elevation to the throne (*Khilafat*) in the country of Gujarat. In it he said : "It is patent clear to the grandees and nobles, specially to my dear and exalted brother (Murad) that my bliss-seeking desire in accordance with the dictates of destiny, in its outward growth has joined the camp of this standard because of this mortal world, but the inward intention has repeated to me that it is a vain dream, a hollow notion and so I have addressed myself to the task of abstaining from sin by firmly holding on to the handle of abnegation and in acquiring lasting wealth and have withdrawn my hand from this tricky transitory world. My desire was that, during this troublesome period shaking off the burden of disappointment from my shoulder, I should retire to a secret corner and spend the days and nights in the worship of the Almighty whose blessings constitute the only true happiness. But, then I thought that at first I should place that dear brother firmly on the throne of the capital, Akbarabad, and after witnessing his auspicious and successful coronation, and gathering happiness and pleasure from it, will return to fulfil my heart's desire (may become a recluse) (**fol. 16b**). But the report of your coronation has fulfilled a great desire of my heart and has made me happy and exultant. (Moreover) I thank God (the Bestower of all happiness) for it. I have collected 30,000 (thirty thousand) experienced soldiers for your support and shall march towards the capital (Akbarabad) after finishing some important work. Therefore, dear brother, who is dear to me as my life, should also march to the city of Ujjain where both of us will join our forces and start for our destination. Once both of us are fully ready and united, the victory over Muhammad Dara Shikoh shall be a matter of time........"[4]........[5]

In short, Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, who was fully aware of Muhammad Aurangzeb's desire for seclusion and isolation, accompanied by all his nobles (*amirs*) i.e. Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi, Murshid Parast Khan, Sayied Hasan Khan, Fateh Khan, Sayied Shaikhan Khan, Sipahar Khan Bakhshi, Murawat Khan, Sayied Mansur Khan, Sultan Yar Khan, Rana Gharibdas and other *mansabdars* and a force of 70,000 (seventy thousand) horsemen (sawars) started from Ahmadabad (Gujarat).[6]

Meanwhile Muhammad Aurangzeb, accompanied by his 30,000 (thirty thousand) horsemen (sawars) started from the happy foundation (Khujista Buniyad) *Aurangabad.*[7] By forced marches he crossed the river Narbada near the ford of *Handia* and encamped in the precinct of dependency (pargana) *Dipalpur.*

Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, marching from Gujarat, crossed the outskirt of Jhabua and encamped near the village (*mauza*) Mandalpur, which is a dependency (pargana) of Dhar. Muhammad Murad Bakhsh received Aurangzeb's trusted courtiers (**fol. 17a**) who, reaching his presence communicated the latter's intention to him and obtained leave to return.[8]

Next day both the stars of the zodiac fame (brothers) started from their respective places to meet each other. Muhammad Aurangzeb from the way despatched Sultan Muhammad,[9] his son, to greet Muhammad Murad Bakhsh who was to remain in attendance up him till he had reached him. After a few hours both the brothers, who were mounted on their horses, joined eachother like the two auspicious stars. After that both the brothers, getting down from their saddles, put their feet on the surface of earth and embraced each other......[10] Thereafter both the brothers, riding side by side, started for the camp, (daulat khana), which had been pitched in the vicinity of Ujjain. After their entrance into the royal camp, Muhammad Aurangzeb got down in the apartment of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh

where both the brothers sat on the cushion of glory and prestige. Muhammad Aurangzeb congratulated Muhammad Murad Bakhsh on his accession to the throne. After that he (Aurangzeb) repeated what he had written (in his letter to Murad) and they reached an agreement swearing by the holy Quran. Accordingly, it was agreed : "The brother (Murad Bakhsh) ascend the throne of the empire and he (Aurangzeb) would be the incharge of the Wizarat (fol. 17b), and would look after the relevant affairs of administration."[11]

Muhammad Dara Shikoh came to know in advance that Muhammad Aurangzeb, through correspondence, had some sort of agreement with Muhammad Murad Baksh and that both of them, had become like-one like-some soul and had started with a large army and large number of soldiers, in this direction (towards Agra)."[12]

Soon after getting this information, he conveyed the same to the exalted personage and informed the latter of the actual state of affairs. With the paternal affection which the exalted personage had for him (Dara), was more concerned about Dara's present condition than the past deeds. In spite of the fact that the exalted personage, who was held in surveillane by Dara (the Emperor) was still of the opinion that (the latter) should occupy the throne. Therefore, he summoned all the grandees (amirs) of the realm and the servants of the empire (Khilafat) to his presence and said ; "It is our heart's desire that Muhammad Dara Shikoh should be a successful and happy Lord of the Empire. Aurangzeb, from the Deccan and Muhammad Murad Baksh from Gujarat, have created trouble, and are heading towards this direction, One of you should (therefore) be appointed the commander with other servants under him. He should leave for Ujjain and block their path and with determined efforts, he (the commander) should take both of them prisoner and bring them here"[13] (fol. 18a). All the nobles (amirs) submitted : "We are the sincere servants and slaves (of the Emperor) and if we are sent to accomplish other important task we would perform it faithfully even at

the cost of our prospects in the two worlds and having accomplished the same as best as possible, shall become symbols of efficient service. But imperial etiquette does not permit us to enter into conflict with the illustrious princes. But if Muhammad Dara Shikoh be appointed to lead the army, we, the servants of the state, would under his command fulfil all the rites of dedication and service." As the Emperor was in no mood to separate himself from Muhammad Dara Shikoh, he turned towards Maharaja Jaswant Singh and said : "For the accomplishment of this task, all the state officers have offered excuses. But unlike other servants of state, I feel that this work could be accomplished by you." Thereupon, the Maharaja submitted ; "I am subject to your Majesty's orders and have no excuse (to offer). Now if at this proper juncture I should put both the princes to sword ; there would remain nobody to resist us. After that Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh's imprisonment can also be achieved easily because in his success (against Muhammad Shuja) the possibility of his being a claimant to the throne, is visible. And to Muhammad Shuja Khan, who was one of his companions, (the Maharaja) gave orders that under the patronage of exalted orders he should march ahead and, challenging both the brothers, should bring them prisoners." In short the exalted personage praising the Maharaja[14] for his bravery and courage, bestowed a special robe (Khilat-i-Khasa) upon him and also a studded sword (**fol. 18b**), an elephant and a horse with golden trappings. He was also given 80,000 (eighty thousand) rupees in cash for expenses. And Qasim Khan, Raja Debi Singh Bundela, Mukand Singh Hada, Kanwar Arjun Singh Gaur with a force of 50,000 (fifty thousand) horsemen (sawars) were ordered to accompany him (the Maharaja).[15] The Maharaja, covering all the stages, reached Ujjain ten days earlier than Muhammad Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh and encamped there. Both the brothers (Aurangzeb and Murad) arrived in Ujjain and encamped there. They were informed of the Maharaja's presence also.[16]

Aurangzeb despatched one of his trusted servants to

tender the following counsel to the Maharaja : "Remove the cotton of carelessness from the ear of caution, act faithfully and obediently, which is the way of the loyal servants. In case you act against the advice, your haughtiness would prove to be your own snare." The messenger came to the Maharaja and communicated the exalted advice in this manner i.e., "It is strange that a loyal man like you has come to fight the high ranking princes and (so) your action is against imperial etiquette. In short, such a step and intention defy wringlement in scale of far-sighted discretion. One should be afraid of the awe of great kings because the happiness of both the worlds is connected with this maxim :- Whatever is destined by the Will of the Almighty cannot be remedied. Still, if you (the Maharaja) want to be guided by goodluck (**fol. 19a**), nothing has yet been lost. You should open your eyes and take the advantage of joining the service (of the princes) because it would lead you to plenty of good treatment (promotion) and would make you the recipient of unlimited favours. If you, through bad-luck, choose the path of opposition and conflict then the remedy is impossible. The daily increasing fortune of the sovereigns is constantly on its way to ascendancy. It does not befit that you, in all haste, should adopt the path of waging battle and attacking them ; thus, ruining yourself by (following) bad luck. In short, after the enactment of the unfortunate occurrence (defeat in battle), regret and perplexity will be your fate and you would derive no benefit. The punishment (of defeat) would be detrimental to you." (Upon this) the Maharaja replied, "Whatever His Majesty has thought, it is for my good and betterment. I have no hand in this expedition and attack because I have not done it on my own. His Majesty's orders have forced me to undertake this work here. Now if I disobey the imperial orders and do not undertake the assigned work, I will put myself to shame before the emperor and the people. Among the Rajput, I will have to face ignominy. Therefore, it is advisable that I should perform the required task successfully." The despatched messenger, having heard the reply of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, got up and came back to Prince Muhammad

Aurangzeb and gave his report (fol 19b). When Aurangzeb found that the Maharaja did not listen to his advice and seemed determined to commit sin and disobedience, he also decided to chastise him.[17] Thus, (Aurangzeb) ordered that heavy pieces of artillery should be disposed facing the army of the Maharaja.

When the news of the disposition of artillery spread in the army (Lashkar) of the Maharaja, Askaran, surnamed Kirtiwant, who was one of the efficient officers of (the Maharaja) said to him : "The artillery pieces of both the princes have been stationed just opposite our army. The Rajputs, who, when asked to attack the enemy, do not hesitate to lay down their lives, and do not retrace their steps. If the artillery pieces, from the camp of the enemy, open fire, most of the Rajputs are sure to be killed instantaneously. Thus it is advisable that with your permission, I should attack their artillery (tope khana) with 4,000 (four thousand) horsemen (sawars) at the dead of night and, putting all artillery-men to sword, capture the whole of it. Then the Mughals will not be in a position to oppose or fight the Rajputs. In this way victory will be achieved." (Thereupon) the Maharaja replied : "Deceiving and attacking (the enemy) at night, is against the practice of the Rajputs. In the morning (fol. 20a), by the grace of God, I shall make such a plan that the artillery would remain ineffective and the brave Rajputs, charging the enemy, would achieve victory and not a single person will receive injury by the fire of artillery." Two or three times Askaran insisted that once the time is lost, it never returns. This opportunity should be utilised. But the Maharaja did not listen (Askaran).

The next day, Saturday, the 18th Rajab of the current year, both the brothers appointed Najabat Khan, Murshid Quli Khan and Saf Shikan Khan with a force of 8,000 (eight thousand) fully armoured horsemen (sawars) as the vanguard. Faulad Khan, with 10,000 (ten thousand) horsemen (sawars) was posted at the right wing and Shaikh Mirza with the same number (i.e. 10,000) of horsemen (sawars) to the left wing.

Both the brothers, accompanied by (an uncountable) army, took the field (in the centre). From the opposite side Raja Debi Singh Bundela and Mukand Singh Hada formed the vanguard of the army. Qasim Khan, Madhu Singh and Kishwar Singh Hada were given the charge of the right wing and Rao Satar Sal Hada, Mahesh Das Champawat and Indar Singh Gaur of the left wing. The soldiers, fully prepared, went into the battle-field. Thus the dispositions having been made, the battle drums were beaten.[18]

Meanwhile Mukand Singh Hada, having lost his sense of proportion and taking 10,000 (ten thousand) horsemen (sawars) moved ahead and opened the attack. Simultaneously, the artillery from the opposite side was brought into action (i.e. from the side of princes) and killed a large number of the Rajputs (**fol. 20b**). Later experienced soldiers got entangled and fought each other with swords. In the thick of battle Mukand Singh Hada was hit by an arrow in his eye. He fell from his horse on the ground and gave up the ghost. Murshid Quli Khan, with 6,000 (six thousand) horsemen (sawars) earned martyrdom. Gopal Singh, the younger brother of Debi Singh Bundela and Kanwar Arjun Singh with 10,000 (ten thousand) Rajput horsemen (sawars) also fell in the battle-field (died). Debi Singh Bundela, who was posted as the vanguard by the Maharaja, playing foul, abandoned the latter's, came and deserted the princes. He (Debi Singh) appeared before Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and submitted "though this slave was outwardly with the Maharaja, he had always been nourishing the idea of submission to your exalted Highness By good luck, I have succeeded in attaining it " In such circumstances Muhammad Murad Bakhsh lauded the Bundela and mounted him on an elephant. He ordered the followers of Debi Singh Bundela to join his (Murad's) army and render outstanding services (**fol. 21a**). His Highness (Murad) depending upon God, ordered that his elephant be moved forward. The Rajputs, fighting their way bravely, reached near the elephants of the princes (Aurangzeb and Murad). Upon this, the brave soldiers of the princes attacked the Rajputs from every side and, killing the Rajputs, they covered the field of

battle with their red blood. Then they overtook the Maharaja, who was in attendance by only a few of his selected Rajputs. On the approach of the brave soldiers, he found his doom sealed. He wanted to spur his horse into the battlefield and die fighting but Maheshdas, Askaran and other *pardhans*, divining his object, impressed on the Maharaja that it was time for him to make an exit from the battle field. Catching the reins of the Maharaja's horse, they pulled him outside the field of action. With the exit of the Maharaja, many Rajputs also pulled themselves out of the field and left for Jodhpur. Thus victory and success fell to the lot of the nobles (amirs) of the empire.[19]

Muhammad Aurangzeb conveyed the good tidings of victory to the exalted prince (Shahzada Wala Qadr) Muhammad Murad Bakhsh. Later other servants of the state congratulated both the exalted princes (on their success) which was marked by beating the drums. When they counted the casualities (they found) that 100 (one hundred) important nobles (amirs) (fol. 21b), 4,000 (four thousand) *mansabdars* and 7,000 (seven thousand) horsemen (sawars) had become martyrs ; and on the Maharaja's side, 24 (twenty-four) big Rajput nobles (amirs) such as Maharaja Champawat and Kompawat clans etc., and 10,000 (ten thousand) Marwari Rajputs were killed, while 6,000 (six thousand) horsemen (sawars) and the imperial nobles (Badshahi amirs) posted (with the Maharaja's army) also fell in the battle field.[20]

In short, Muhammad Aurangzeb and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh were pre-occupied that day (the day of victory) in looking after the protection of the exalted camp. Next day, they entered the city of Ujjain, which was transformed into heaven and was named the *Dar-ul-Fateh*, proclaimed to the public their wish that the said place should also be decorated with an inn (sarai), a garden and should be called by the name of Fatehabad. For two or three days they stayed in Ujjain for dressing the wounds of soldiers. But on the 4th day (of victory) they started for Akbarabad.[21]

The news of the victory (of the Princes over Maharaja Jaswant Singh) spread to every nook and corner and was heard by everybody. According to the report received from the Dar-ul-Fateh, Ujjain the fact of the defeat and flight of the Maharaja, was communicated to the exalted personage and Muhammad Dara Shikoh. At first, Muhammad Dara Shikoh despatched a letter of advice to the two brothers on the following (lines) :—"Upto this time, no son has tried to expel his father (from the seat of power). But both of you, who have placed your feet out of the bounds of loyalty and fidelity, have become the travellers of the road of disaffection and disobedience and are creating trouble in the empire and its subject (**fol. 22a**). By your action, you have made deviation from consideration for etiquette. Its outcome can be nothing except regret and shame (for both of you)."

In reply to the letter of Muhammad Dara Shikoh, both the brothers wrote as follows :

"How excellent is the blessed eldest son, who has thrown behind the bars his own father, the father whose attention and generosity have raised him to this high position in the empire, who is bent upon destroying the very existence of brothers, who should have been dear to him as his own life. Are these the signs of eternal felicity ? As the freedom of the exalted father is our concern, therefore we ask you to remove the cotton of negligence from your ears, and having equipped yourself well be ready for war. Beware, we are coming with all haste."

At last, Muhammad Dara Shikoh, after going through the contents of the letter, sent for the high officers of state and convened a secret meeting. After a long discussion, it was decided to fight. Khalil-ullah Khan submitted : "Since the time of Sahibqaran Amir Tamur none has been able to sit on the throne without waging a civil war (against others), and whoever got it, procured it with the power of his sword. Therefore, leaving aside all other efforts, you should concentrate on the collection of war material so that a battle be

fought, because both the brothers are heading with full speed (towards Agra)."

On the second day Muhammad Dara Shikoh reviewed his army, it counted 180,000 (one lakh and eighty thousand) horsemen (sawars). Both the brothers, travelling the distance, reached the fort of Gwalior **(fol. 22b)**. Upon this Muhammad Dara Shikoh sent Prince Sipahar Shikoh with a force of 30,000 (thirty thousand) horsemen (sawars), 20,000 (twenty thousand) foot (piyadas) armed with muskets and asked the latter that reaching the river Chambal, he should fortify its fort with his artillery in such a manner that even a bird would find it difficult to cross the line.[22] Thereafter Muhammad Dara Shikoh appointed Najabat Khan[23] and other great nobles (azimushan amirs) to the van of the army, while he himself, accompanied by Khalil-ullah Khan, Qasim Khan, Daud Khan and other important nobles (amirs) and a large force and good park of artillery marched from Akbarabad to Sambhugarh[24] and encamped there. A vast level ground, which was situated at a distance of one *karoh* (from Sambhugarh) was fixed as the arena of battle, where he arranged his guns and became ready to give battle.

Meanwhile both the exalted brothers marched out from Gwalior. On their way (to Akbarabad) they were informed that a Prince Sipahar Shikoh had disposed his guns on the bank of the river Chambal, closed the route access and is barring the path and that Muhammad Dara Shikoh, leaving the capital, had reached Shambhugarh, was also waiting (for them) at a distance of one *karoh* from (the said place)." So both the exalted brothers, after getting the news, made a diversion from the main route and marched in the direction of Sambhugarh. From the place of diversion, marching seven *karohs*, they arrived by the side of the river Chambal and surveyed it. The water (of the river) was immense and it was flowing violently, and to cross it seemed very difficult, which perplexed them **(fol. 23a)**. It was a sheer lucky chance that Hathiraj Jat, the *zamindar* of the dependency (pargana) *Gohad*, which was situated in the territory (taluqa) of

Gwalior, who had joined the army of the Princes submitted that the ford of Kanira was situated at a distance of five or six *karohs* (from here) that was negotiable and the army could cross it easily."[25] The Princes accepted the guidance of Hathiraj and left in the afternoon. As the entrance route was uneven, the army could reach the ford at *Kanira* with great difficulty in the last quarter (pahar) of night. About 5,000 (five thousand) persons perished with thirst. The next morning the army crossed the ford, where water was chest-deep and encamped there.[26]

The following day both the brothers marched towards (the encampment of Muhammad Dara Shikoh) and he also moved towards them....[27]

In short, after one quarter (pahar) and the 4th *ghari* of the day, they arrived at the ground, chosen for the battle. The rival artillery was arranged face to face (fol. 23b), and the ranks were arranged to the left and right....For two *gharis*, the artillery emitted so much fire and smoke that visibility became very poor. None could either see or hear the other. So to say the screen of dark night had been drawn on the face of the day. The soldiers from both sides, using their swords, attacked each other. Soon the blood of combatants turned the battle-field into the red glow of dawn. Saf Shikan Khan, Asalat Khan, Shaikh Mir[28] and other distinguished nobles (amirs) of Muhammad Aurangzeb fought with zest and, displaying much valour and courage, sweetened the mouth of the living with the syrup of martyrdom. From amongst the servants of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, Yahiya Khan, Sarfraz Khan, Sultan Yar Khan and Rana Gharibdas fell on the field, drank the syrup (*sharbat*) of martyrdom and found a place among martyrs. Meanwhile Najabat Khan, Sayied Qasim Khan, Raja Jai Singh and other nobles (amirs) attacked the army of the Princes from right and left, which did not only scatter their forces, but upset all their arrangements (fol. 24a). Thus the forces of Muhammad Dara Shikoh, getting the upper hand, encircled the elephants of both the brothers but they remained steady

in their canopieds (amaris) shooting arrows, and succeeded in killing a large number of their opponents. In this encounter Muhammad Murad Bakhsh received seven wounds on his face and the blood trickling from his wounds, besmeared his clothes. There was every possibility that the imperial (Badshahi) soldiers would start assaulting the mounts of the princes. But at this time Khalil-ullah Khan, who had been actually fighting in that group, getting the upper hand, came to the presence of Muhammad Aurangzeb and submitted "Muhammad Dara Shikoh's success is certain. The battle is about to be lost. If this slave creates confusion in the forces of Muhammad Dara Shikoh, you can be victorious. For doing so how would this slave be rewarded?" Muhammad Aurangzeb replied, "You shall get a *mansab* of 7,000/7,000 (fol. 24b) zat and sawars, the post of the Diwan-i-Ala and the high title of Jumdat-ul-Mulk."

Khalil-ullah Khan turned back his reins and, reaching Muhammad Dara Shikoh, congratulated him on his victory and submitted : "The victory has already been achieved by your servants and the opponents are facing the consequences of their action. It is time that your Highness get down from the elephant and mount a horse. For there is a fear that either an arrow or matchlock bullet from the enemy's side, might strike you. Though the Eternal Guardian (God) protects everywhere, one should take care also." The pearl of the Sultanat (Dara), recognizing the fidelity and sincerity of the Khan, got down from his elephant and mounted a horse, although Prince Sipahar Shikoh tried his best to dissuade him from dismounting his elephant but he turned down his advice. The Divine Will had so ordained that the accomplished and completed work be disrupted because of the faithlessness of Khalil-ullah Khan, a dark faced of the two worlds. As soon as the Prince (Dara Shikoh) had mounted a horse, the Khan retraced his steps from there and, mixing himself with the other servants (of Dara Shikoh and the Emperor) declared, "For whom are you taking this trouble ? Muhammad Dara Shikoh has already fled and his elephant is standing without him." When the nobles (amirs) turned their eyes,

they found his elephant without him. They were surprised and wanted to know as to why he had done it especially when victory had already been gained (fol. 25a)? All of them became perplexed and stopped fighting.[29] That unfortunate person (Khalil-ullah Khan), with all haste, reached Muhammad Aurangzeb and delivered the good news saying "This slave has succeeded in bringing down the enemy from his elephant and forcing him to mount a horse and, thereafter he has circulated the news of his escape among the imperial officers, who were engaged in battle. With the result all of them are greatly perturbed and have stopped fighting. This is the time that your Highness should open the attack."[30] Immediately Daud Khan,[31] with 4,000 (four thousand) Afghan horsemen (sawars) came from the rear and Muhammad Aurangzeb, taking the Khan with him, urged his elephant forward. The Afghans launched their attack from all sides and the imperial soldiers, who were already perturbed, could not withstand the attack. All of them were defeated. Muhammad Dara Shikoh, who was left with a few selected followers, saw that Aurangzeb, with a large force, was attacking furiously. He could not resist the attack, launched by Muhammad Aurangzeb and fled from the battle-field with Prince Sipahar Shikoh. Muhammad Aurangzeb, hearing the news of the flight of both father and son, sent his trustworthy, Muhammad Jafar Chelah to seize the entire property of Muhammad Dara Shikoh, while he himself went to Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and congratulated him saying (fol. 25b): "Your rivals, both father and son, have fled. Victory is your's exalted brother." Thereafter, both the brothers remained encamped where they were for the day.[32] In this battle many men from among the officers of the army like Rustam Khan, Rao Satar Sal, Raja Rup Singh, Ram Singh Rathor, Muhammad Salih, Wazir Khan, Qazi Afzal etc. and many of the imperial servants were killed. From both the sides about 15,000 (fifteen thousand) persons of fame lost their lives.[33]

Muhammad Dara Shikoh appeared before the exalted personage at Akbarabad and narrated all that had hap-

pened from the victory to the treachery of Khalil-ullah Khan. The exalted personage, because of the great paternal affection, which he had for that son (Dara), was much grieved and remarked "My dearest child fate has the last laugh on human devices." He recited a couplet, "Contrary to us the Almighty thinks. If Khalil-ullah Khan, in spite of all our profess kindness, has acted in the said manner, one day he will have to pay for it. At the moment your enemies are victorious and are pursuing you. It is prudent that you should go away from this place. Much did we desire not to separate the pupil from our eye even for a moment, but the cruel fate and the unkind age have shattered to pieces the mirror of our hopes with the stone of separation and has upset all our plans. (fol. 26a)." Then he bestowed a large sum from the treasury upon him. Muhammad Dara Shikoh stayed that night with the exalted personage and the next morning, taking leave, started towards Delhi. At the time of Muhammad Dara Shikoh's departure, the exalted personage read this couplet. "Nobody has seen his own death with his own eyes but today, I am seeing with my own eyes that my soul is going away from me."[34]

Next day the lofty banners of both the brothers were directed towards the capital, (Akbarabad). They encamped in *Bagh-i-Dhira*, which was situated at a distance of one *karoh* from the afore-mentioned place. From there, Muhammad Aurangzeb despatched the exalted Prince, Sultan Muhammad towards the capital, Akbarabad and ordered him that "(the Prince), after entering the city manage the law and order situation there, and should occupy the fort." (Accordingly) the Prince, entering the city, approached the fort but as turrets and fortifications had been strengthened with artillery, the garrison suddenly opened fire and frustrated the plan of entrance into the fort. But he occupied the city and ordered that Sidi Masud, the *Kotwal* of the city, who had refused to submit, be put to sword. Thereafter, he appointed Rustam Khan Tatar (Qalmaq) as the *Kotwal* of the city and instructed him that he should so manage the situation of law and order that at this critical

moment the strong may not be able to oppress the weak. The Prince sent the report of firing from the top of the fort to his father (Aurangzeb) (fol. 26b). Muhammad Aurangzeb went to Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and placed the report of the Prince before him.[35] Meanwhile, *Mariyam-uzamani Malika-i-Dauran, Begum Sahiba* (Jahanara Begum), carrying the message of the exalted personage, mounted on elephant, arrived to meet the two brothers in *Bagh-i-Dhira*, and went for the quarter of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh. As both the brothers were at one and the same place, they getting the news of the arrival of the Lady of the World, came out of the encampment (daulat khana) to accord her welcome. With all due respect they conducted her to (the encampment). Begum Sahiba first offered congratulations and then conveyed the exalted message saying : "In the life-time of your father both of you should not have fought with Muhammad Dara Shikoh and your assertion of claim to the throne of the kingdom was also improper. But whatever was fated, has happened. Now, nobility of etiquette demands that wearing the ring of obedience in your ear of caution, you should do according to the wishes of the exalted monarch." Muhammad Aurangzeb replied saying : "How Muhammad Dara Shikoh has cared for his father, is quite evident ? Besides that, he has abandoned the path of the noble *Shariat* and the pure faith. Therefore the destruction of the edifice person becomes the duty and responsibility of the followers of *Islam.* As far as the exalted personage is concerned, he has already for 32 (thirty two) years, graced the throne with his generosity and paced existence (fol. 27a), but now that he is seventy and his faculties are not functioning properly, and his carefulness for administration and executive actions, has gone to pieces, therefore, the protection of the dominion and its subjects is an inevitable duty which has descended on us." On hearing these useless words, Begum Sahiba was much aggrieved. She got up and, going into the presence of the exalted personage reported the whole conversation to him who, bearing it, withdrew his hand from rulership and the sovereignty and decided to take to seclusion.[36]

After the return of Begum Sahiba, Muhammad Aurangzeb said to Muhammad Murad Bakhsh: "Without fighting the fort cannot be occupied." So orders were issued to the chief of artillery (darogha-i tope-khana) that he should dispose the guns at a place, commands the fort so that the cannon-ball could strike it. Therefore, a big gun was fixed on the top of the mosque of Begum Sahiba, which directly faced the fort gate and another such piece was fixed on the buildings of Dara Shikoh, which were situated near the bank of the river Jamuna. First the gun placed on the mosque of Begum Sahiba was fired and its salvo so struck the gun mounted on the top of the entrance of the fort that that blew its head to pieces. The other piece, which was mounted over the buildings of Muhammad Dara Shikoh, was fired and its salvo struck the house (daulat khana) and demolished its upper part completely. It afflicted the inmates of the fort very much. As there (in the fort) were stationed 1,500 (one thousand five hundred) men, the Tatars, the black-coloured (Habshis) and the Turkish slaves (fol. 27b), the exalted personage ordered them to fight to defend the fort up to their last breath. They fired their muskets with such dexterity that not a single person could raise his head up. In such a state Muhammad Aurangzeb found that it was not easy to capture the fort, round which ran a long and deep moat. How much so ever they tried, but it availed of little. In the end he (Aurangzeb) sent a message to Itiqad Khan, the chief of artillery (darogha-i tope-khana) of the fort saying, "The officers of the state are bent upon capturing the fort and God willing within a day or two it would be captured. You are dexterous in firing guns but are unconsciously washing your hands with your own blood. If your lucky stars help you and felicity guides you, you gird up your loins of obedience and service and withdraw your hands from firing the guns and should also surrender the fort to the servants of the generosity symbolised government, or otherwise, you will bear the consequences of your own action." Thereupon the aforesaid Khan contemplated hard and discussed the matter with his friends saying: "The glittering sun of Hindustan has descended into the zodiac of survelliance. Victory has been achieved by the two exalted brothers. From

the horoscopes of the brothers, it is evident that the crown of the sovereignty (Khilafat) will decorate the forehead of one of them (fol. 28a). In such circumstances, any disobedience on the part of the servants will mean playing with our lives. Therefore, it behoves us that we pursue the path of fidelity and submission." In reply to the message, he submitted : "I am one of the house-born (Khanazads). I can neither flout nor disobey the exalted orders. Therefore, I shall fire the blank shots. Today, at the calm of night the gates of the fort shall be so left that they can be easily opened and both the exalted princes can enter into it with auspiciousness and happiness." (Accordingly) that Khan, at the dead of night started commotion, fired the blank shots and left open the gate of fort. The exalted Prince (Sultan Muhammad) getting the signal, with a selected number of brave horsemen (sawars) entered the fort. At the time of the breaking of dawn that rose of the garden of sovereignty (Sultan Muhammad) sealed all the imperial stores (karkhanajats), imprisoned the servants, appointed his own men in their places and sent the good tidings of victory to his august father.[37]

It is the fixed regulation of the empire that whenever the two of the princes enter into a conflict with each other none of the pillars of the state, with due regard to etiquette does take lead in joining and helping the princes (fol. 28b). But exigency and necessity have no other alternative. Thus the pillars of state (Rukn-i-Sultanat) Shaista Khan, Amir-ul-Umara Jafar Khan and Raja Raghunath etc., who in the beginning of the civil war, had remained neutral after the capture of the fort, presented themselves in Bagh-i-Dhira, tendered their submission and exalted their foreheads of honour and distinction.

In the foregoing pages it has been recorded by the writer (Ishwardas) that Sulaiman Shikoh had stayed in the district (zila) of Munghir to organise its administration. Hearing the report of the conflict between Muhammad Dara Shikoh, Muhammad Aurangzeb and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, he left the place and by forced marches he arrived at Allahabad.

But as Tahawur Khan alias Sayied Qasim Khan, the commandant (qiladar) of the fort, had put it under proper defence, he defended it stubbornly. Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh considered its conquest unprofitable. Simultaneously was received the news of the defeat of Muhammad Dara Shikoh and the victory of the two brothers. Having no strength to resist, with a selected number of followers, he turned towards Sri Nagar. Then Raja Jai Singh, Dilir Khan, Bahadur Khan etc. and other imperial servants, leaving the company of Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh, turned their faces towards the lofty threshold and coming quickly to *Bagh-i-Dhira*, they paid their respects to the exalted threshold.

FOOT NOTES

1. Isa Beg, the agent of Aurangzeb at the Court, came to his camp after his release and told him of Dara's high-handedness. K.K., II, 13 ; *K.T., 370 and M.A. 4.*

2. For the details of Aurangzeb's preparation in the Deccan, see Kambu, 10b, 11a-b; Aqil, 20, 25 ; Masum, 44a-45a (incorrect paraphrase) ; Bhim Sen. I, 18-21; *M.U. II, 265* and *A.N. 41, 42-46; 83-84.*

3. Ishwardas estimates Murad's army 70,000 (seventy thousand) horsemen (sawars), most probably it was 10,000.

4. "Aurangzeb's courtier returned from Murad and reached his master, north of Bidar (on 23rd. November) with the news that Murad's army after capturing the city and district of Surat was engaged in besieging the fort." *Adab, 205a.*
   For Aurangzeb's moves refer to his confidential letters in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri.* For details see : Adab, *92a-95* (Aurangzeb to Mir Jumla), *197a-206a* ; Qabil Khan, by Order of Aurangzeb to Mir Jumla, *178b* (Qabil Khan to Aurangzeb).

5. One verse (بیت) has been left out. See *fol. 16b.*

6. Ishwardas gives the said list of the nobles who accompanied Murad. The other contemporary and near contemporary sources give the following names :
   (1) Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi, Sayied Hasan Khan Bahra, Sayied Mansur Khan, Sultan Yar Khan, Rana Gharibdas.
   (2) Murshid Parast Khan, Fateh Khan, Sipahar Khan Bakhshi and Murawat Khan were not with Muhammad Murad.
   (3) The other nobles of Murad were Shahbaz Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Debi Singh Bundela, Dildoz (Dildost) and Rahmat Khan. Athar Ali, op. cit., 134-35.

7. Ishwardas does not mention the names of nobles who accompanied him. For the details of his journey see ; Aqil, *26* ; *A.N. 53-56.*

8. "Murad received a confidential messenger from Aurangzeb and the news of the latter's arrival in the neighbourhood." *A.N. 56-57* ; Aqil, 22.

9. The text reads Prince Sultan Mahmud which is wrongly transcribed. Prince Sultan Muhammad was born by Nawab Bai, 4th Ramzan, A.H. 1049 (19th December, 1639). He performed excellent duties assigned to him by his father Aurangzeb. *M.A. 534.*

10. Verses (ابیات) have been left out see : *fol. 17a.*

11. Aurangzeb's confidential officer, Aqil Khan Razi, has recorded a few of the terms of alliance ; "(1) One third of the booty would belong to Murad Bakhsh and two-thirds to Aurangzeb ; (2) After the conquest of the whole empire, the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Sindh would belong to Murad, who would set up the standard of kingship there, issue coins and proclaim his name (Khutba) as king." Aqil, 25.

12. Ishwardas narrates the incident after the capture of the fort of Surat by Murad and the defeat of Muhammad Shuja. The armies against Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad were sent at the same time. *A.N. 114.*

13. "After the first week of illness Shah Jahan, though felt some relief, did not hope of recovery, so he piously set himself to prepare for the next World. Calling to his presence some confident courtiers and the chief officers of the state, he made his last will before them, and ordered them to obey *Dara* henceforth as their sovereign in everything, at all times, and in every place." Kambu, 6a, 7b, 8b.

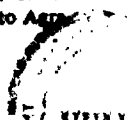
14. Maharaja Jaswant Singh was the chief of the Rathor clan of Rajputs and the Raja of Jodhpur. At the instance of his father Raja Gaj Singh, he was allowed by Emperor Shah Jahan to succeed his father in supersession of elder brother, Amar Singh. By gradual promotion he rose to be mansabdar of 6,000/6,000 (5,000 × 2-3h). *Tuhfa-i-Shah Jahani, 29b* ; *A.N. 32, 41, 49, 56, 59* ; *Aurang Nama, 13* ; Salih, III. 284, *449* ; *M.U. III, 599-604* ; Hatim, 10a, Bhim Sen, 14a ; also Athar Ali, op. cit. G.D. Sharma, *Rajput Polity*, Manohar Book Service, 1977.

    Kazim and Kambu inform that not one but two armies were despatched ; one against Aurangzeb under Jaswant's command and the other against Murad under the leadership of Qasim Khan. *A.N. 29* ; Kambu, 10a ; Aqil, 20 and 22.

15. The imperial army is variously estimated. Aurangzeb puts it at 30,000 horsemen and as many infantry. *Adab, 164a* ; Murad counts the enemy as 50 or 60 thousand. Faiyaz, 469 ; Aqil says 30,000. 28.

    According to Masum, Aqil and Kambu, "While giving leave to the three armies sent from Agra, Shah Jahan had besought the generals to spare the life of his younger sons, to try at first to send them back to their provinces by fair words if possible, otherwise by demonstration of force, and not, except in extreme need, to resort to a deadly battle." Masum, 45b ; Aqil, 21 ; Kambu, 11a.

16. Maharaja Jaswant Singh reached Ujjain with his army at the end of (February, 1658) and Aurangzeb reached most probably on 20th March." *A.N. 56-57* ; Kambu, 11a ; Aqil, 22.

17. "Aurangzeb sent Kab Rai, a famous Hindu poet, to Raja Jaswant Singh, asking him not to bar his way as he was only going to Agra

to visit his father. But Jaswant Singh pleaded the Emperor's orders." K.K. II, 13 ; *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* calls him Kavi Rai. fol. *384*. Faiyaz writes that Murad also wrote a separate letter to Jaswant, reminding him of his promises. *Letter of Murad to Raja Jaswant Singh*. For details of correspondence see : *A.N. 58, 64-65* ; Aqil, 27-28 ; Masum, 46ab-47ab.

18. The arrangement of the battle and respective positions are described by Kazim. *A.N. 61-66*. Other sources which deal with the matter are : Kambu, 11b ; Masum (inaccurate as usual), 48b-51a ; Faiyaz, 569-70, and Adab, 164a, 123a, 133b ; Bernier is entirely unreliable, Tod. II, 875 ; (a mere fiction) and G.D. Sharma op. cit.

    Kazim names the village as Dharmatpur, but the Ind. Atlas, sheet 36, N.E. and the villagers call it Dharmat. One *kos* from Dharmatpur Jaswant barred the Princes road. *A.N. 61.*

19. "Jaswant Singh was wounded and was unhorsed also. His followers wanted to remove him from the battle-field, but he refused to go. He was forcibly removed against his will." Masum, 50 b ; "Jaswant Singh in spite of being wounded encouraged his followers to fight." Aqil, 31. "Jaswant Singh was left alone by others. He was surrounded by his Rajput followers and they all fought bravely." Bernier, 39. "Jaswant Singh fought bravely till he found himself surrounded with the smallest number of his followers." *Manucci, I, 259.*

    For the battle main authorities are : *A.N. 66-73* ; Aqil, 29-31 ; Kambu, 11b ; Masum, 48b-51a ; Faiyaz, 469-470 ; and *Adab, 164a-b, 206b, 123a, 133b* ; also Bernier (unreliable) ; Tod II, 875 records wild fictions of the Rajputs. The Futuhat gives an excellent and extremely valuable account of Maharaja Jaswant's doings.

20. Seven thousand four hundred Rajputs were killed. *A.N.* 73 ; *Adab* and Bernier give the same number of casualities. *Adab, 164b* and Bernier, 39 ; Kambu's language is significant. "Some Musalmans and a great many Rajputs had been slain." Kambu, 11b ; "About 5,000 slain on the two sides together." Bhim Sen. I, 23.

21. Bhim Sen also mentions the construction of the above mentioned. Ibid ; I, 23.

    The princes halted at Ujjain for three days preparing losses, making administration of state ; and then they marched north-ward of Gwalior." *A.N. 75-78.*

22. "Shah Jahan constantly advised Dara not to engage in war, and always recommended peace, ... but he had grown too weak and so yielded to Dara." *A.N. 84-85*, ; Kambu, 10a. Again, "Shah Jahan wrote to Dara (before Sambhugarh) urging him to make peace and give up the design of fighting, but in vain. At last the Emperor determined to extinguish the war by his own exertions and speeches

so he ordered his advance-tents to be pitched between the two armies." *A.N. 86-87*; K.K. II, 21; Masum, 56b and Aqil, 33-34, support the statement. *Storia, I, 264-67.*

23. Ishwardas says that Najabat Khan was appointed Van of the army with other nobles, it is wrong. He was with Aurangzeb. He gives meagre information about the posting of the persons incharge of the various position there.

24. Ishwardas spells the name as Sambhugarh. "At Imadpur, one mile from Sambhugarh in coming towards the city, on the bank of the river Jamuna mansions were built by order of Shah Jahan at a cost of Rs. 80,000." Waris, 81b. "At Rajpura 10 *kos* from Agra, near the Jamuna, Dara chose the field of battle." *A.N. 8b.* Sambhugarh is given in *Indian Atlas, sheet 50 S.E.* as 8 miles due east of Agra fort. The Jamuna is half a mile north of it and again four miles on the east. The day after the battle, Aurangzeb halted in the hunting lodge at Imadpur. Aqil, 49.

25. The zamindar of Bhedever guided them Aqil, 34; While Chhatra Parkash (followed by Manucci and Bhim Sen) Aurangzeb's guide to the fort was Champat Rao Bundela. *Poqson, 32.*

26. "The place of crossing Bhadauriyah and Bhadaur respectively, and place it 40 (or 50) miles east of Dholpur." *A.N. 79, 80, 85*; Aqil, 33-34; Kambu, 12b; *Storia, I, 269-270.*

27. A verse has been left out. See: *fol. 23a.*

28. The text reads. Shaikh Munir which is copyist's error. He was Shaikh Mir.

29. The text reads: ازبندهای بادشاه والاشاهی مشوش و.... بودند

The correct is: ازبندهای بادشاه والاشاهی مشوش و متفکر بودند

30. For the treachery of the Mughals "both Turanis and Iranis" in the imperial army. See; Aqil, 34 and *Storia, I, 267, 73.*

31. Daud Khan was with Dara Shikoh. Aqil, 34 and Manucci, I, 373.

32. Dara dismounted from his elephant at a time of extreme danger when he had lost all hope of victory, is asserted by Kazim. *A.N. 104*; Aqil, 48; Masum, 63b; and Kambu 15a. These contemporary and first rate authorities refute Ishwardas' mention that Dara changed his elephant at a time when he had almost defeated Aurangzeb, and that this act on the part of Dara turned his assured victory into a rout. Manucci and Bernier also reproduce the said gossip. *Storia, I, 281-82*; Bernier, 53-54. For casualities see: *A.N. 105-106*; *Adab, 167a, 133b*; *Storia I, 282*; *Waqiat* dates the battle as 8th June 1658.

20-23. The battle of Sambhugarh in which Dara was defeated, took place on 29th May, 1658. Manucci, the Italian Traveller. who was incharge of some of Dara's guns, gives a graphic account of the battle. *Storia, I, 276-282.*

33. Rustam Khan, Rao Satar Sal Hada, Raja Rai Singh Rathor and other chiefs of Dara's army were slain. *M.A. 3.* For detail see : Masum, 65b-66b ; *Storia, I, 287-88* ; *A.N. 107* ; K.K. II, 30.

34. The parting scene is very graphically described by Kambu also. See : 12a ; *Manucci. I. 267 (brief)* and Masum. 57a.

35. Kazim is silent. *A.N. 113-14*, see also Manucci. I. 293.

36. "The meeting took place after the fall of fort." Aqil. 59-61 ; Kazim is surprisingly silent about it. *A.N. 116.*

37. Siege of Agra see also : Masum, 68a-72a ; Aqil, 55-58; Kambu, 16b, 18a : *A.N. Is entirely silent* ; K.K., II, 32 ; *Storia, I, 293-295.*

    For Shah Jahan's captivity see : Kambu. 18a ; Aqil. 58, 59, 63 : Masum, 72ab and 77b-79a ; *Adab. 187b, 189a* (Aurangzeb's instruction to the Prince as keeper of Shah Jahan) 260a-264a ; (Aurangzeb to captive Shah Jahan), 137a-b ; (Aurangzeb to Fazil Khan, incharge of Shah Jahan) *A.N. 124* and K.K. II, 32.

Occurrence III Comprises

RECOVERY OF MUHAMMAD MURAD BAKHSH FROM HIS WOUNDS, SEPARATION OF MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB FROM MUHAMMAD MURAD BAKHSH AND HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE CONQUEST OF (SHAHJAHANABAD); AFTER HIS DEPARTURE, INCITING OF MUHAMMAD MURAD BAKHSH BY SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS AND THE LATTER'S MARCHING IN THE WAKE (OF AURANGZEB'S DEPARTURE) (fol. 29a). MEETING OF THE TWO BROTHERS (THEIR ENTRANCE) INTO BINDRABAN, ENCAMPING AT THE BANK OF RIVER JAMUNA; IMPRISONING OF MUHAMMAD MURAD BAKHSH BY MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB IN THAT PLACE (BRINDABAN) AND HIS MARCH TOWARDS SHAHJAHANABAD.

Both the exalted brothers stayed for a month and seven days in *Bagh-i-Dhira*, where the wounds of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, received in the fightings, were healed and he had a bath. Muhammad Aurangzeb distributed a large sum of gold and silver (money) among the indigent, the poor, the destitutes, the seclusionists, the orphans and the needy. In the wake of this gift he hosted a big celebration according to the custom. After two or three days he visited the camp (daulat khana) of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh. A secret meeting was held there in which it was expressed (by Aurangzeb); "Since a month and a little (had passed and) that Muhammad Dara Shikoh, who had gone towards Delhi, had headed now for the Punjab and that it was possible that in that district (zila) he was recruiting a large number of men.

He might capture the fort of Delhi and again be ready for a conflict, which would create further trouble and insurrection (in the country). Therefore, if that exalted brother considers it advisable, I may be given permission to leave for Delhi so that, after capturing the fort of Delhi, I may despatch an army in Muhammad Dara Shikoh's pursuit and, taking money from the treasury, I may pay the soldiers." Muhammad Murad Bakhsh replied, "Whatever that exalted brother desires to be the best, he may act upon it (fol. 29b). You must proceed with all haste towards that region and should send a part of treasure to me so that I may also pay the soldiers." Muhammad Aurangzeb took twenty lakh rupees and sent the same amount to Muhammad Murad Bakhsh.

Muhammad Aurangzeb sent the advance tents (peshkhana) towards Sikandra which is situated at a distance of two or three *karohs* from the capital, Akbarabad. The next day he, bidding off to Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, entered his own camp. After the departure of Muhammad Aurangzeb the courtiers of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh submitted to him, "Both the victories have been achieved with your exalted prestige and the third success i.e. the conquest of the capital. (Akbarabad) was (also) your sovereign achievement. Thus, making somebody a partner in matters of the administration is against the rule of sovereignty. It is patent that two sovereigns cannot rule in one country and this is the maxim of the kingship also. You are wise enough to learn from history, which reveals that for the sake of crown many fathers have killed their sons and many sons have killed their fathers. (When this is the tradition) how can brothers and relations be an exception? Leaving aside the earlier kings, the case of Muhammad Dara Shikoh is before you. In recent time, in spite of being heir apparent, how has he treated his father (fol. 30a) and what was his treatment towards his dear brothers? Therefore, be careful and do not trust anybody." The destiny recovering Prince replied, "We, the brothers, have sworn by the Holy Quran and made a firm compact that after the conquest of Delhi, I

shall be raised to the throne of the kingdom and that high born (Aurangzeb) shall become the *Wazir* and would conduct the administration of the state. As such don't utter such improper words, because if I dare break my words, which is unpraiseworthy, a heaviness of heart would weigh on either side. Muhammad Dara Shikoh, who ignored the obligations due to his exalted father, and behaved boobishly towards his brothers, has received due punishment for his actions. Now the tree planters of destiny and fate have opened the flowers of my desire beautifully, it would be meant to appoint Muhammad Dara Shikoh to the Punjab so that he may not wander in the wilderness of disappointment and we, the two brothers, in full commission engage ourselves in administering the affairs of the empire (*sultanat*)." The far-sighted advisers submitted again : "Nothing is better than that which has crossed your sublime mind, but it is difficult to be translated into action because this is a case of conflict. Never before has it happened nor is likely to happen again. At the moment the situation demands that Muhammad Aurangzeb be not permitted to proceed towards Delhi alone (**fol. 30b**). Your Highness, leaving Sultan Muhammad in the capital Akbarabad, should also march towards that region (i.e. Delhi). At an auspicious time and fortunate moment, you should ascend the throne of sovereignty and success. Thereafter, whatever you deem suitable, you might do." For this reason Muhammad Murad Bakhsh sent an oral message to Muhammad Aurangzeb through Nuruddin Khawas, who was his trusted servant saying : "I have also resolved to go to Delhi. Wait (for me) for a day so that both of us may proceed (towards Delhi) together." He despatched his advance tent (*peshkhana*), also towards Sikandara.

Next day Sultan Muhammad was appointed to administer the Capital, Akbarabad and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh himself entered his own camp. In these circumstances suspicion made its way into the mind of Muhammad Aurangzeb. He thought : "What is the reason ? Why had he stayed (back) and (now is), coming ? It is likely that his

advisers and counsellors have tendered a different advice, according to which he has decided to move towards Delhi. Therefore, it is better to take precaution before the event takes place. After the situation gets out of hand grief and sorrow is of no avail. Let me finish the affairs while I am on the way because after the arrival at Delhi it might become difficult to handle it. After this he waved aside his vow and promise and began to wait for a suitable time and proper moment. Then he decided that two camps, in contravention of the practice of other days, should be pitched close to each other (fol. 31a)."

The next day both the brothers, marching together, reached *Gau Ghat* and encamped near the bank of the river Jamuna. That very day Muhammad Aurangzeb came into the camp of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and pleased him with varied types of words of sincerity and many kinds of friendly expressions. Having pleased and won over the heart of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, Aurangzeb disclosed: "Ever since I left you, pangs of separation have been afflicting me as if the soul has been removed from my body. I have hardly a moment sleep and food also became tasteless (for me). Thank God that all this pain, which was due to my internal warmth and which had cropped up has been removed by your comfort-giving arrival. God willing in a week or so we shall reach Delhi. In short, after placing you on the throne and filling the coronation ceremony with effulgence, I shall address myself to other important affairs." Thus, he (Aurangzeb) sat down for some time and won over the heart of his brother (Murad). Thereafter, he got up and left for his own camp (daulat khana). The next day when they proceeded from *Gau Ghat* to the village (mauza) of Bindraban,[1] which was situated near the bank of the river Jamuna, as per instructions, their camps were piched side by side and the pavilion of the audience hall (*sarapardai khas-o-am*), was erected at the rear. Thus both the brothers undertook their journey (riding together) from *Gau Ghat*. But while on the way Muhammad Murad Bakhsh along with Qutbuddin Khan (fol. 31b), Fateh Jang Khan, Khwaja Shahbaz

Khan and other intimate followers went out for hunting.

Muhammad Aurangzeb came to his camp and calling Nurudin Khawas, said to him, "Today is the most suitable (day). No other better day shall come again. Let us ensnare this suspicious prey so that we may come out from the state of doubt and suspense." Summoning Shaikh Mirza, who was his trusted servant, he acquainted him with the plan. Then he posted fifteen fully armed-men at the entrance (devdhi) and issued instructions to the chief of ceremonies (mirtuzaks) saying, "when Muhammad Murad Bakhsh comes here, not more than four or five persons should be allowed (to remain) in his company." Thus he satisfied himself with regard to his design. Promising rewards to Nuruddin Khawas, he asked him : "Go to the presence of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and persuade him on any pretext to come here riding." That utterly desperate and faithless man, for the sake of worldly gain, forgetting all the kindnesses that had been bestowed upon him, mounted a fast running horse. When Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, having enjoyed the hunt was on his way to his own camp that that black-natured creature (Nuruddin) met him, paid his respects and spread the false net of pretexts and excuses to catch him. He said, "Muhammad Aurangzeb has expressed his desire that you should grace his camp with your advent there so that he might ease his pain of separation and, for a while, enjoy your company and after meeting you may become happy and satisfied" (fol. 32a). Therefore, Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, believing the words of that dishonest and black-natured person, turned the reins of his horse (towards the camp of Muhammad Aurangzeb). At that time Qutbuddin Khan, Khwaja Shahbaz Khan and other loyal nobles (amirs), suspecting (the invitation of Aurangzeb) to be threat to the life of the Prince, suddenly caught hold of his skirt and submitted : "This is not free from deceit and the expression of this deceitful man are nothing short of design and deception. Don't go. Better you come to your own camp." But that exalted person, bearing the firmness of pledged words, promises and the sincerity of

his brother, rejected the supplications of his faithful attendants and turned reins in that direction. Within the twinkling of an eye, he arrived at the camp of Muhammad Aurangzeb. When he reached near the entrance (devdhi) and dismounted from his horse, grasping the whole situation intelligently, Khwaja Shahbaz Khan sensed that there was something fishy in this affair. Therefore, he dropped a hint saying: "Still nothing has been lost. You should return to your own camp because the situation warrants it." But the Prince frowned upon the Khwaja. Meanwhile Qazi Nizam conveyed the news of the arrival of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh to Muhammad Aurangzeb (fol. 32b), who came to the entrance (devdhi) with all haste, greeted him with all sincerity and expressed his overwhelming fondness for him. Accompanied by a Khwaja Sara, named Bisharat, they went in and took their seats on the carpet in the audience chamber (*bargha-i-khas-o-am*). Thereafter the marshals (mirtuzaks) came and they made arrangements for Qutbuddin Khan, Fateh Jang Khan, Khwaja Shahbaz Khan and other nobles (amirs), to sit outside the entrance (devdhi). Shaikh Munir and other nobles (amirs), coming from all sides, gathered in the audience chamber (diwan-i-khas-o-am). Muhammad Aurangzeb applied odour (itr) on the body of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh with his own hands and then patting his cheeks, asked meals to be served. They kept sitting for two and a half hours after the meals. Then, Muhammad Aurangzeb remarked: "You might have got tired on account of the exertion of hunting (shikar). Better, stretch yourself on coach. I shall go to my bed-room (khwabgah) and will rest a while." Thereafter he (Aurangzeb) retired to his sleeping apartment and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh stretched himself on coach. Bisharat, the Khwaja Sara, began to massage his (Murad's) feet. Soon he fell fast asleep. Meanwhile, a fairy-like beautiful maid-servant of silvery ruche entered (fol. 33a) the bed chamber (khwabgah) of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and pointed to Bisharat to get out so that she could take his place. So Bisharat at the signal of that fairy-like came out, and she began to massage his feet,

which led to deep sleep. Later, she got up and took the sword and the dagger of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, which lay near the pillow, and carried them to Muhammad Aurangzeb. At once that exalted person (Aurangzeb) said to Shaikh Munir : "The Lion has fallen into the snare of sleep. Lest he wakes up, go immediately and put fetters on him." Shaikh Munir, with fifteen men, rushed towards the pillow of the Prince, who, shortly woke up only to find himself surrounded by the enemies. He extended his hands to search for his weapons which he could not find there. He then began to utter abuses. Shaikh Munir, paying his respects to the Prince (Murad), placed the golden chains before (him) and clamped them on his feet[2] **(fol. 33b)**. After the performance of this deed Fateh Jang Khan addressing Qutbuddin Khan said : "As the lion snaring and tiger hunting prince has been taken captive by fraud and deceit, sense of duty and former obligations render it incumbent upon the firmly devout servants to play their role. Let us boldly and courageously enter their pavilion (saraparda) and inflame the fire of battle and death and should secure the release of the Prince from captivity. Or, otherwise we should lay down our lives in serving the cause of our master." Qutbuddin Khan, having lost courage and said that : "We, the servants, had advised him not to go there but he did not listen to our submission and advice because it was the Will of the Almighty. Now the matter is out of our hands. To enter the women's apartments of the Kings, is against the etiquette and is madness also." Thus, getting on their horses, each one of them returned to his Camp.[3]

Muhammad Aurangzeb posted Shaikh Mir with 2,000 brave and experienced soldiers to guard that prisoner (Murad). The faithless Nuruddin was sent to arrest the eldest son of Murad. That ill-destined person (Nuruddin) went to Muhammad Murad Bakhsh's camp and getting the Prince into a palki, produced him before His Majesty (Huzura-i-ala).[4] Thereafter, the orders were issued that he too be taken to his father and all the property (of Murad) be confiscated. So the house steward (khansama) of the

exalted government went and carried out the given orders (hasbul hukm). At last early next morning, both father and son were sent to the fort of Salimgarh. Shaikh Mir, accompanied by 4,000 horsemen (sawars) was, directed to come back after handing them over to the commandant (qiladar) of the fort. Thereafter, he (Muhammad Aurangzeb) honoured all the nobles (amirs) of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh with high and suitable **(fol. 34a)** *mansabs.*[5]

'Pursuit of Muhammad Dara Shikoh'

After four days the exalted banners left for Delhi and the Emperor encamped at an auspicious hour there where it was again submitted to him that "Muhammad Dara Shikoh, who has collected soldiers and equipments at Lahore, is exerting himself very much for a battle."[6] Therefore, (His Majesty) should not make a halt at Delhi. Collecting 80,000 horsemen (sawars) and, marching post-haste, he arrived at the bank of the river Ludhiana (Sutlej).[7] There he thought of avoiding unnecessary blood-shed as had been witnessed in earlier battles and devising a way to gain his objective without losing a single man. Therefore he issued imperial orders (*farmans*) under his own signatures to all the nobles (amirs) of Muhammad Dara Shikoh saying :- "That in your promises, compacts and agreements you had made a submission to the sublime court that when this expanse of Delhi is illuminated afresh with the light of the sky scrapping banners, all of you conceitedly will put Muhammad Dara Shikoh in fetters and will acquire the felicity of the audience of the illustrious Majesty. Now that with Divine assistance and help, we have heralded the shadow of our kindness on the foreheads of the inhabitants of Delhi **(fol. 34b)**. According to the hopes of firm faithened loyal officers, it is not clear as to why there is delay in the implementation of their promised step. As it is absolutely necessary for us to seize our rival. Therefore, the victorious standards have left Delhi for Lahore and on 15th of Jamadi I, we have also pitched our camp near the river Ludhiana (Sutlej). Therefore it behoves you that before the entrance of the royal army (in Lahore), acting according to the earlier

promises and agreements, you present yourselves before the exalted Majesty so that you may all be rewarded according to your desires."[8] Those *farmans* were handed over to Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq, who was peerless in worldly affairs. He was instructed to reach Lahore and to contrive so that "these missions should fall into the hands of Muhammad Dara Shikoh."

At last, Muhammad Sadiq, with the *farmans*, reached near Lahore. By chance Jawahar Khan, the *Khwaja Sara*, who was a confidant of Muhammad Dara Shikoh, passed that way and, considering Khwaja Sadiq to be an ordinary wayfarer, called him to his presence and began to make inquiries after him. The Khwaja started talking vaguely, which made the *Khwaja Sara* suspicious. Snatching the bag from Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq's hands, he opened it and found the *farmans* stamped with the special seal (mauhr-i-khas). He took the Khwaja with the *farmans* to the presence of Muhammad Dara Shikoh, who inspected them himself. The Khwaja indicated that he was only a messenger and he was set free. He was surprised at the faithlessness of his followers and deceitfulness of the age so he at once ordered a march (fol. 35a). At that some the nobles (amirs) made a submission that "Muhammad Aurangzeb is still on his march and no battle has taken place. We, all the servants, have resolved to give him (Aurangzeb) a battle. The Prince (Dara Shikoh) should wait with full confidence in the fortified fort. (The moment) the enemy arrives at a distance of one encampment from here, we shall sally forth to give him battle. Victory is the gift of God, if it comes your way so much the better. If it does not, then we will lay (down) our lives in your service. Thereafter, you may do whatever you feel to be right. The exertions, made by the servants on the earlier occasion, are known to you. What could be done when Khalil-ullah Khan played a treacherous role ? Now the order of march is ill-advised." In the end Muhammad Dara Shikoh gave those writings to the nobles (amirs) one by one and said : "You have conspired with the enemy and now you are talking a false language." The group of the honest persons,

after going through the *farmans*, submitted again : "These writings have been inscribed with a particular design and they are fake. (The motive is that) you may start suspecting our loyalty. We, the servants, know nothing about these documents." Everyone of them swore his fidelity but Muhammad Dara Shikoh said, "In a period of perplexity like this, no confidence can be placed either in a promise or even in oath **(fol. 35b)**. The hankering after the worldly things has even made the oath on the Quran Majeed unbelievable. Muhammad Murad Bakhsh in all sincerity, had banked upon the promises and oaths. He fell into the labyrinth of calamity." In the end, when the nobles (amirs) noticed that the Prince was not trusting them, all of them felt disappointed. Thus Abdullah Khan, Askari Khan, Murtaza Khan, Qilij Khan and Mughal Khan etc. with special permission separated themselves from Muhammad Dara Shikoh and he accompanied by Iradat Khan and Nusrat Khan etc. marched away.

After their departure Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq returned to the presence of His Majesty and gave a detailed report of it. The king, after hearing the news of the marching away of the enemy, ordered the victorious (army) to proceed towards Lahore. For two days, he stayed in that city to settle the affairs relating to the treasury and the stores (*karkhanajats*) etc. On the third day, throwing off some of the superfluous equipments, he set out in hot pursuit of Muhammad Dara Shikoh. Within one week he traversed the distance between Lahore and the city of Multan. Hearing this news Muhammad Dara Shikoh, with all haste, marched away from Multan. Crossing the hills and passes, with great difficulties he reached Thatta and Bhakkar. At last,. His Majesty, considering the negotiation of the mountains to be troublesome for the entire army, appointed Raja Jai Singh, Bahadur Khan and other nobles (amirs) to pursue Muhammad Dara Shikoh **(fol. 36a)**, while he himself returned to Lahore. He reached Lahore and stayed there for a short time. Later he left for the capital, Shahjahanabad.*

On the 27th Shaban, amidst bliss, good luck and blessed-

ness, he arrived in the capital of Hindustan. In the 1st week of Ramzan, at an auspicious hour, fixed by the astrologers, he ascended the throne of the empire (*sultanat*), which is the refuge of the emperors of seven continents. All the officers, from all sides, congratulated him and scattered a large sum of gold and silver as *nisar*. The drum (*naqara*) of rejoicing was beaten. Later, the *Qazi-ul-Quzat* was ordered to read the Khutba in the name of His Majesty. But he submitted that in the life-time of father the reading of the Khutba in the name of his son is not permissible in the Shariat. Therefore, His Majesty was perturbed. In such circumstances Shaikh Abdul Wahab, who held the post of the Qazi (**fol. 36b**), hearing the judgement of the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*, submitted : "If the permission be granted to this self, he will try to convince the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*." His Majesty gave the permission. After the exchange of opinions the Shaikh (Abdul Wahab) declared that : "Ala-Hazrat Khaqani (Shah Jahan) has grown very weak (because of his age) and his faculties are out of sorts. Sovereignty is based on the smooth functioning of administration of various departments, tranquillity of the realm and welfare of the subject (*riyat*), which has suffered a set back (due to his illness). Therefore, under such circumstances reading of the Khutba in the name of the son, who is capable of the kingship (sultanat) and ruling over the kingdom, is permissible, according to the *Shariat*." In this connection he presented many perfect traditions (rivayat-e-kamil). When the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*, the learned (*ulama*) and divines, who were present, heard the precedents and they were silent. He (the king) reprimanded them and ordered the Shaikh to read the Khutba in his name. Later the Shaikh, by the grace of the king was appointed to the post of the Qazi of the Court (qaza-i-huzur) and was given the title of *Qazi-ul-Quzat*. Gold and silver coins were struck with the exalted name (of the king).

Next day a farman was issued in this connection to all the *subedars* of the different provinces (mumalik-i-mahrusa), containing exaltations and promotions (**fol. 37a**). At the same time a farman was issued, consoling, conciliating

and bestowing a mansab and the kingdom of Marwar on Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

As has already been recorded in the earlier pages that Muhammad Shuja, coming out of the fort of Munghir, had disappeared somewhere and Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh had to stay in that district (zila) to look after the administration of it. Hearing the news of the conflict between Muhammad Dara Shikoh and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, he (Sulaiman Shikoh) left (for Agra). Muhammad Shuja, after the departure of Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh, suddenly reappeared and captured Munghir. Within a short time he was able to collect a large sum of money and (a large) army. Thereafter, he marched towards Delhi.[10]

The news (of the march of Muhammad Shuja towards Delhi) was brought to the notice of His Majesty, who wrote a conciliatory letter to him.

'His Majesty's letter to Muhammad Shuja'

"My respected and dearest brother, may God preserve you. It is evident that this lowly attendant of the threshold of God, from the beginning of adolescence till present, has been wearing on his shoulders the mantle of connection with the apparent world though in fact he was fond of the dress of solitude and freedom and had detached himself from the complicated and ungrateful inn (world). But according to the orders of Ala-Hazrat Khaqani (Shah Jahan) whose obedience was incumbent upon me, the dominion of the Deccan was conferred upon me. I engaged myself in administering that region and was happy about it. But during the same period Muhammad Dara (fol. 37b) Shikoh under the influence of unfortunate fate and imaginary fears, casting aside all discretions, withdrew his feet of fidelity and service from the plane of obedience and dedication. With evil intentions he became bent upon creating troubles. Therefore, he extricated himself from obedience of his father and in a sinful attitude he propagated

the news of the exalted personage's illness among all and sundry (khas-o-am). Therefore, the whole kingdom fell victim to disruption. Muhammad Murad Bakhsh ascended the throne of the sovereignty (sultanat) in Ahmadabad, Gujarat and with great respect and sincerity, having invited me left for Delhi. The enemy, getting this information, despatched Jaswant Singh with 40,000 horsemen (sawars) and a large park of artillery to offer resistance. He reached Ujjain with all speed. When Murad Bakhsh, accompanied by me arrived in that place, he (Jaswant) challenged us to a battle. Though he spared no efforts in the battle-field, through the grace of the magnificent Lord, as through short-sightedness he had been discourteous to us, was resisted with condign punishment and was driven into the wilderness of disappointment. My dear brother and I won the victory at Ujjain and however, reached Akbarabad. He (Dara) accompanied by Sipahar Shikoh, nobles (amirs) and *mansabdars*. advancing at Sambhugarh, opened a fierce battle against us. It is well-known that evil-designers never see the face of prosperity. In the end he became a prisoner of his own evil action and became a wanderer in the valley of perplexity and anxiety. After that Muhammad Murad Bakhsh did not abide by his own promises and agreements (fol. 38a) and became deceitful and fraudulent. It has been said that one reaps whatever one sows. He had filled his own mind with inimical thoughts and so he became a victim of the grip of his own fate. That not even in remote imaginations and will, the desire of kingship crossed my mind. The fate has, however, decided that the management of this workshop of creation and genesis be carried on by this solicitous of the court of Lord of slaves. The appearance of fresh victories and countless successes is a clear proof and unrefutable evidence of the support of good luck for us. It is strange that, in spite of all this, that exalted brother overcame by fanciful mistrust and false suspicion has turned towards this direction. In these circumstances, I had presumed that opportune hope had deprived that famous and successful brother of farsighted discretion, but what happened to the right thinking advisers,

who failed to advise you against this difficult and fruitless undertaking? From this it might be surmised that when dear exalted brother could not succeed against Sulaiman Shikoh, who was a student of the school of folly and foolishness, how can you prevail against this powerful Godly bestowed and gifted sovereign power? Therefore, I am writing to say that still nothing has been lost. If you listen to my advice with careful attention, turn back from the way and take yourself back to Bengal (fol. 38b), which is an extensive country (mulk-i-wasi) and has been the seat of the illustrious kings. I am leaving it to be governed by you. I am conferring the provinces (subas) of Bihar and Bahadurpur upon the two nephews of mine. But if in spite of it the unattainable greed fetters you with dangerous thoughts, hurry up and come with all haste, tarry not. I shall be there to greet you."[11]

'Muhammad Shuja receives His Majesty's letter'

When the letter reached Muhammad Shuja, he unheeding its contents, took diligent steps (to proceed towards Delhi). This was reported to His Majesty, who got himself prepared to meet his challenge. At this time Maharaja Jaswant Singh, to whom an exalted order (farman) had been issued to conciliate and soothe him, arrived from his home-land (watan), paid his respect and exalted the forehead of honour by waiting upon (His Majesty). The exalted Majesty, extending his patronage, removed the dust of shame from his face by pouring the water of kindness and treated him kindly. Therefore, it was agreed that the successful army would move forward to meet the challenge of Muhammad Shuja. Covering many stages, it encamped in the town (qasba) of Khajuhura, which was the dependency (pargana) of Koda and Ghatampur.

At that place Shaikh Mir, most respectfully brought to the notice of His Majesty the reality, regarding the hypocrisy and the rancour of the Maharaja. The king was slightly ruffled by this disclosures (fol. 39a). It was reported to the

Maharaja also. Though the exalted Majesty had no intention of punishing (the Maharaja) who from sheer fright and fear, gave the pretext of illness, absented himself from the audience of (His Majesty) and failed to perform *Kurnish* also. His Majesty, overlooking his faults and taking the initiative of kindness, summoned him to his presence so that he may not remain bewildered and his shame be also removed. But this deepened his suspicion and he circulated the story of his illness among all and sundry (khas-o-am) and withdrew into a corner. His Majesty from the same patronage, appointed the *hakims* and physicians (atiba) to treat him but his ailment increased further till the arrival of Muhammad Shuja and two parties faced each other. At first the artillery was fired from both sides and then the brave soldiers fought with muskets and arrows and distinguished themselves and made the field of battle red with their blood.

His Majesty, who was riding a mountain-like elephant, sitting in the canopy (amari) like the sun, was encouraging the brave soldiers by appreciating their valorous deeds (**fol. 39b**), was himself an example of bravery and was also shooting death-inflicting blows upon the enemy............(Two brave young persons), who were sitting with him, were also engaged in shooting arrows. The brave wrestlers from both sides, who were engaged in conflict, were trying to surpass each other in valour..............[18]......In the thick of battle some of the faithful and honest servants submitted to His Majesty that, remaining in the canopy (amari) of the elephant, which was being spotted like the new moon, was not an act of wisdom because there was a possibility that an injury might come from a hidden arrow. His Majesty, after hearing the supplication, got down from the canopy (amari). He mounted a horse and went into the battle on it. When (**fol. 40a**) some of the cowards saw the elephant without the exalted personage they, considering their lives to be precious, ran away from the battle-field and scattered themselves to and fro.

The most astonishing thing to happen at this time was

the defection of Jaswant Singh. Its details are given below :- One of the trustworthy (khawas) of Muhammad Shuja, Qabad by name, brought to Maharaja Jaswant Singh a letter of the following purport : "Whatever oaths and promises that servant had forwarded to us through letters and correspondence should now be strictly adhered to. At this moment let him be steady and firm in his action, and in token of his absolute sincerity and fidelity let him come to us as quickly as possible and help us in the battle field." As earlier also (the Maharaja) had nourished wild and foolish thoughts, at this time after the receipt of that message (from Shuja), he began to think that if the Emperor got any inkling openly or secretly what disgrace he might not have to suffer. Such a distraction filled his mind with the fever of shame and repentence. He sent Jogidas, his Rajput servant to Muhammad Shuja with a message : "At present, the appearance of this faithful in your Highness' presence is not advisable. The present situation demands that I, withdrawing myself from the army, should take the road towards my native place (watan)." In short, as the star of his ascendance was on decline (fol. 40b) and prestige had turned face from him so adversity began to guide him. Bearing in mind worthless words and episodes, he imprinted his enact with the undesirable intention of rebellion and ingratitude and, having stretched his hand of plunder to the royal camp (Urdu-i-mualla) and the property of the people, he marched straight for his native place (watan). Though Maheshdas Champawat, one of his high associates advised him not to take this ill-conceived course of action, he did not pay any heed to it. After getting the news, His Majesty inquired about his (the Maharaja's) undesirable act from his courtiers, but except unfounded suspicion, no other cause was to be found. Anyhow the Maharaja, passing through the vicinity of Akbarabad, arrived at Jodhpur and established his contact with Muhammad Dara Shikoh, which was fruitless.[18]

The coward (na-Shuja) Muhammad Shuja, was deprived of his undesirable claim and having sacrificed thousands of

souls, turned his face of defeat towards Bengal.[14] Thus the success and victory fell to the lot of the illustrious sovereign, who sent a big army under the command of Muhammad Sultan and (Ruknul Khilafat) Muhammad Muazzam Khan, who was entitled Mir Jumla, to pursue him (Shuja) there. His Majesty ordered Dilir Khan, Daud Khan, Sayied Firoze Khan and Sayied Shihab Khan, Zabardast Khan, Zulfiqar Khan, Mughal Khan, Raja Indarman Dhandhira, Raja (fol. 41a) Anirudh Singh Gaur and others with 5,000 (five thousand) cavalry (sawars) to accompany the young sappling of the garden of good luck and prestige. His Majesty, with full success, returned to his palace (daulat khana) in the capital, Shahjahanabad.

When Raja Jai Singh, Bahadur Khan Koka and others, who had been sent in pursuit of Muhammad Dara Shikoh arrived in Thatta, they heard that Muhammad Dara Shikoh had fled towards Iran. They also started for the land of Iran and on their way reached Multan. Hence they found the land was not negotiable and so they returned to the Court. By the orders of His Majesty Raja Jai Singh, with 10,000 (ten thousand) horsemen (sawars) was appointed to pursue Muhammad Sulaiman Shikoh. The Raja, with all of his sincerity and exertion, was able to bring Sulaiman Shikoh a prisoner from Kumayun Hills and produced him to the Court. His end happened to be as had been destined by fate [15]

His Majesty sent Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and his son to the fort of Gwalior under the escort of Motamid Khan, who was appointed its commandant (qiladar). Zabardast Khan was exalted to the *faujdari* of Gwalior fort with the specific instructions that they be given poppy (Koknar) juice with food.

The Emperor decided to punish Jaswant Singh so that no one else might dare be disloyal. Thus moved by a sense of royal kindness His Majesty conferred the title of

'Raja' upon Rao Rai Singh (**fol. 41b**), and gave him the '*tika*' of Jodhpur. Muhammad Amin Khan was ordered to proceed to Jodhpur with a park of artillery (tope-khana), a large and well-equipped army and accompanied by the aforesaid Raja to expel the rebel Jaswant Singh from there and install the former firmly on the throne there. (He was further required) to stay there for a while to organise administration of the territory and thereafter to return to the exalted Court. In case that unfortunate person (Jaswant Singh) after collecting a large number of *zamindras* of the hills and landholders (murza banan) of the plains, filling his brain with the fever of haughtiness, dreamed of the forts of Siwana, Jodhpur and Jalor as his strong places of defence and oppose the imperial army, he should be taken prisoner with his wives, children and his followers on the path of abusation put them to sword. Efforts should be made to see that not a single soul be able to escape and the families of each of them were also trampled under the hoofs of the horses of the imperial army.

When the above report reached the ears of Jaswant Singh, he, having been shaken up from his slumber, was perplexed and worried about his own safety, thinking that when the forts of Akbarabad and Delhi, which were as strong as the walls of Alexander (Sad-i-Sikandari) and the noon of man's thought could not get near the turrets, could be occupied in flash, the fort of Jodhpur, which was not as strong as the mentioned forts, how long would it be able to withstand the attack of the mountain-traversing soldiers (**fol. 42a**). He visualised the time when the imperial army would bombard the ramparts of the forts, scattering its stones in the air like particles of cotton. Thus he started the defensive preparations i.e. gathered a large number of soldiers in the precinct of Mandoor, a city, which is situated at a distance of three *karohs* (from Jodhpur).

In the meantime Muhammad Amin Khan, accompanied by Raja Rai Singh, reached the town (qasba) Lahauth. Jaswant Singh, receiving this news, lost all of his nerves and

in a state of high tension amounting to madness and in great perplexity shut himself up in the fort of Sewana, which is situated at the top of a high hill, the like of which is not found anywhere. The fort of Sewana is adjacent to Khukrut. Anybody, who leaves his own place foolishly, gets neither comfort nor solace anywhere. Jaswant Singh, through his impatience (because of the fear of the imperial army) and thinking of the future calamity, had put some of his women and servants into fire. (After committing Jauhar) considering death a certainty and collecting the baggage of ill-luck, he took to wanderings.

At the same time, the imperial orders (hasbul hukm) was served on Jaswant Singh asking him "Beware, don't be ignorant. Don't join Muhammad Dara Shikoh. Victory is the gift of God, it has been achieved by the officers of the victorious Emperor **(fol. 42b)**. Don't act foolishly otherwise you will regret. If you keep on acting this way or that way (in a rebellious manner) your entire family and relations shall be trampled under the feet of the victorious army. So it is advisable that in such circumstances be faithful and sincere, and you should either return to the court or stay in that district (zila). It is certain that it would rebound to your benefit, gains and objective."[16]

As the star of his happiness was guiding him, he realized that his welfare at the moment lay in obeying His Majesty's orders and, considering it to be best opportunity, he shifted to the village (mauza) *Pilara* till Muhammad Dara Shikoh, passing through Thatta, took the way towards the territory of the landlord of Kutch and then passing through Bhalod and Jatwada, arrived at Ahmadabad, where Shah Nawaz Khan, the *nazim* of the said place opened the gate of the fort and handed over its treasure (to him). Therefore, he (Dara), staying (for some time) counted his men. He spent fabulous sum in gold and silver upon his followers. Thereafter, with double-marches, he reached Jalore. From there, he despatched his son, Sipahar Shikoh,

with a *nishan* and plenty of rare jewels to Jaswant Singh saying, "On your (Jaswant Singh) assurance, I have again decided to give battle to Aurangzeb and (with this intention) I am heading towards Ajmer. It is, therefore, incumbent upon you that without delay you reach there." Jaswant Singh went two *karohs* to receive Sipahar Shikoh and for three days he offered one excuse or other (fol. 43a) and then at last sent him (Sipahar Shikoh) back. Thus he made himself an object of condemnation for the whole world.

The news of the march of Muhammad Dara Shikoh (towards Ajmer) was received by His Majesty and he left the capital and encamped near Ajmer.[17] Barq Andaz Khan, the *mir atish* of Muhammad Dara, mounted his artillery on the top of hill, called Bibi Hafiz Jamal, which is situated by the side of Gadh Batelli,[18] and arranged the sectors (morchals) and thus the guns opened fire. At that time His Majesty, riding a horse and accompanied by a strong army, challenged the adversaries there. The soldiers attacked each other from both sides. Multafat Khan, the coward, and Barq Andaz Khan, the *mir atish*, who had secretly come to terms with Emperor Aurangzeb, fired blank shots. His Majesty spurred his horse and joined the battle. Shaikh Mir who was a brave warrior, attacked the enemy. From the side of His Majesty fully-armoured elephants charged the enemy and the cavalry (sawars) also spurred their horses. It made the atmosphere dusty. From the enemy's side, the soldiers were waging a deadly battle (against the imperial army). Meanwhile, Fakhar Khan ordered that small guns be placed in front of the army and fired (fol. 43b). At the same time Burq Andaz Khan, accompanied by a few archers, went into the battle and the archers also began to shower arrows at them. Shaikh Mir hit by an arrow, fell on the ground and died. In this battle 5,000 (five thousand) cavalry (sawars) were lost on the imperial side and 10,000 (ten thousand) on Muhammad Dara Shikoh's side. One hundred and fifteen elephants were killed on both sides. In short Muhammad Dara Shikoh could not bear the brunt of the battle and he

accompanied by a few men, consisting of the intimate servants (khasah khails) headed for Ahmadabad, Gujarat.[19] All his stores (karkhanajats) and equipments were destroyed. When he reached the river Sabarmati, Sarwar Khan, the subedar of Gujarat; Rahmat Khan, the diwan; Mir Saifullah, the bakhshi and other imperial servants, strengthened the fort by mounting guns on its fortification (fol. 44a). As they were bent upon offering resistance (to Dara) they kept up constant firing from the ramparts of the fort. Muhammad Dara Shikoh found that he would not be able to capture the place. Thus he being pursued by his enemies, took the road to Thatta.[20]

It has already been recorded, that Jaswant Singh, who was staying at Pilarah. was waiting for good news. As his star was also in ascendence, he received a farman conferring on him a *mansab*, *title* and the *subedari* of Ahmadabad, Gujarat. Thus according to the imperial orders, he reached Gujarat and got himself engaged in the administration of the province (suba).

Muhammad Dara Shikoh on his way to the country of Iran, entered the land of Jewan Baloch, which was situated adjacent to Thatta. The zamindar of the said land Jewan, brought him into his own castle and treated him with hospitality. Jewan, who had earlier been taken to the presence of Ala-Hazrat (Shah Jahan) as a prisoner for an offence, which he had committed and for which he had been awarded death sentence, had been pardoned and released at the instructions of Muhammad Dara Shikoh. Although the latter wanted to get out of that place and marched to his destination, he did not let him do it and for three days kept his eye on him. When the pursuing army reached near that vile man (Jewan), putting fetters on Dara Shikoh and Sipahar Shikoh, surrendered them to the commander of the imperial army and they, mounting them on an elephant, brought them to the capital, Shahjahanabad.[21] An order (farman) was issued that, placing Dara on the bare back of an elephant, he be paraded in the streets of the city so that the people

might see him (fol. 44b). Thereafter, he be taken to *Bagh-i-Shalimar*. Baqi Khan Koka and others were appointed to guard the prisoners. In short, he was put to death in the said garden (bagh) by the aforesaid slave and Sipahar Shikoh was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. Mir Zain-ul-Abaddin Bakhshi wrote the coronogram of the death of Dara Shikoh......[28]

Now I give a detailed account of Muhammad Shuja. Spare your ears for sometime for me. He was encamping in the precinct of Rajmahal and was engaged in collecting war equipments. (During the same period) Muhammad Sultan, accompanied by the victorious army with quick marches, reached the vicinity of the villages (mauzas) of Darkhaja and Dunapur, the dependencies of Rajmahal, which he besieged and captured. After strengthening its turrets and fortifications and, leaving Zulfiqar Khan, Sayied Firoze Khan, Zabardast Khan, Raja Indarman and Debi Singh for its protection, he launched a campaign against Muhammad Shuja and distributed sectors (morchals) for this purpose. For two years, a battle of arrows, muskets and armed boats (niwarah-i-jangi) continued (fol. 45a). Meanwhile the rainy season set in and because of the flood, caused by rains, the river Ganges encircled the fort of Rajmahal in such a manner that even the bird of imagination would find it impossible to fly across it. In such circumstances Muhammad Shuja found that all means of reinforcements to Muhammad Sultan had been closed, and he appointed Sayied Khan-i-Alam, Saadat-mand Khan and Jamal Khan Ghori under the command of Prince Zain-ul-Abaddin, who with two thousand (2,000) horsemen (sawars), mounted on a flotilla of war, was directed to open the siege of Rajmahal. Jamal Khan Ghori with Khanahzad Khan who was his brother's son, accompanied by a few experienced soliders succeeded in bringing up the flotilla upto the fort and began to bombard it from there. After pressing efforts, he withdrew to the bank of the aforementioned river. At last, Zabardast Khan and Raja Indarman, watching the situation, rapidly came out of the sector (morchal) of the fort and

engaged the enemy (with swords and daggers in the battle). But in spite of intense fighting the soldiers of the enemy, by their aggressive momentum, were able to reach the bank (of the river Ganges) and wanted to capture the fort gate. But Raja Indarman, caparisoning his big elephant, called Gaj Shroman, with armour (kajim) and tying swords on its trunk, pushed it against the enemy. He also ordered some experienced soldiers to follow the elephant and charge the enemy with arrows and muskets. The elephant driver was ordered to direct the elephant towards the charging enemy.

Khanahzad Khan (fol. 45b), with great courage, succeeded in reaching the elephant and without fear he cut its trunk with his sword into two parts. So the elephant, in sheer fright, turned back and trampled the soldiers following in its wake. Meanwhile, Khanahzad Khan attacked the royal army bravely while Jamal Khan Ghori and other nobles (amirs), extending their support, distinguished themselves in such a manner that the fort of Rajmahal slipped away from the hands of the imperial nobles (amirs). Khanahzad Khan, with a number of soldiers, was killed in this conflict. Zulfiqar Khan and others were unable to defend the fort so abandoning it, they joined the army of Muhammad Sultan. Muhammad Shuja entered the fort and he, looking after the organisation of the army and strengthening its defences, collected all the paraphernalia of pleasures. The assemblies of enjoyments continued for seventeen days. Although Sayied Khan-i-Alam and other high officers advised him to surround to the army of Muhammad Sultan, he, however, refused to listen to their advice. He took to the path of negligence and lack of vigilance, which militates against the happiness and success. By that time the flood in the Ganges had subsided, thus opening the way for ferrying.

Muhammad Shuja, finding his position weak, crossed over to the other side of the river Ganges, where he pitched up his camp and strengthened his batteries (defences) (fol. 46a). He found the victory over the opposing army impossible.

Thus he started negotiations for peace with Muhammad Sultan and requested the latter for a conference. Thus by such deceitful means Muhammad Shuja had misled him and created confusion among the pillars of state. As essence of the mind of the Prince had been perturbed because of this unsuitable thought, he (the Prince) exposed himself to the jibes of the public (khas-o-am).[23]

At night the Prince, guided by the darkness and adversity, getting into a boat and accompanied by one servant, reached the bank of the river Ganges, where the batteries (morchals) of Sayied Khan-i-Alam and Saadat-mand Khàn Bahadur were situated. Riding a horse from the aforesaid place and accompanied by the soldiers of the sector (morchal), he started to meet Muhammad Shuja, who getting the news of his arrival, sent for his welcome banners, standards, elephants, horses, and thus he was led to the tent (daira) of Shuja, where the latter embraced him (Sultan Muhammad) and seating him by his side gave his own daughter in marriage to him. Daily he (Shuja) treated him (Sultan) sumptuously and provided him lavish food, drinks and all sort of fruits.[24]

Muazzam Khan, who deserved the robe of administration and command of the army (sipahsalari), concentrated his efforts upon improving the affairs of government (kar-i-badshahi), and with God given courage, high determination and exalted foundation did not give up the work of management and supervision and as usual he enrolled into his service all the fellows of Muhammad Sultan and did not let relax the work of administration.

Muhammad Sultan, taking with him the troops of the enemy personally challenged the imperial army (fol. 46b) and became conspicuous. Thus he spent two years in this way. In the end Muhammad Muazzam, by strategem and diplomacy, recaptured the escaped prey; (with the result that) Muhammad Sultan came and joined the Khan on his own accord. The said Khan, thanking his stars, despatched him

(Muhammad Sultan) to the presence of His Majesty, who sent him to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior.[25]

Muhammad Muazzam Khan, getting fully satisfied with the turn of events, concentrated his attention on suppressing the disturbance, caused by Muhammad Shuja.

At length in the year A.H. 1071, Muazzam Khan and Dilir Khan reached the confluence of Kosi with the river Ganges, and arranged their artillery there. Dilir Khan, with great courage, having full confidence in God and the Emperor, threw his elephant into the (flooded) river but on account of the deep water and its swift current the elephant was unable to keep balance. The son of Dilir Khan, who was brave like his father and was also in prime youth, took that initiative and, leaving other soldiers behind, threw his horse into the river. The horse tried to swim the water but it availed not. The son of Dilir Khan hit by the wave a number of times, got perplexed and lost control (fol. 47a). In this crisis the elephant driver of Dilir Khan urged the elephant towards him and, by extending his hands to the drowning son (of Dilir Khan), he wanted to pull him out of water. But Dilir Khan, in the pride of soldiery, hit the elephant driver on his back and said "This is not the time to turn the elephant back. Let him die, if he is destined to die." As the death was hovering round him, the rein of control was lost from his hands and he was swept away by the current and drowned. Besides the son of Dilir Khan, about 5,000 (five thousand) Afghan horsemen (sawars), caring little for their lives, threw their horses into the water. It is said that 3,000 (three thousand) were drowned. When the said Khan, with 500 (five hundred) brave soldiers, reached the other side of the river, he was opposed by Khan-i-Alam who, in a very short time was defeated and killed. Thus, Muhammad Shuja witnessed this strange episode and getting very disappointed, lost courage and retreated. Nor did his nobles (amirs) and servants had the courage to take a stand. He (Muhammmrd Shuja) ran away to the country

(villayat) of Mukh by crossing the sea (daryai shoor). Thereafter, he left for the dominion of Janak. For some time he stayed there, and (then) tried to go the country of Daket by boarding a ship. It is said that he was lost on the high seas. What happened is actually known to God alone.[26]

In brief story it has been recorded earlier that Muhammad Murad Bakhsh had been imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. During the same period the son of Ali Naqi, Fath-ullah brought an order of revenge (qisas) of his father under the seal of *Qazi-Urdu-i-Mualla* (the qazi of the imperial camp) and demanded revenge (qisas) (fol. 47b) from Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, the murderer (of his father). As his life was about to end, the said claimant murdered him boldly with his own sword. Later the deceased (Prince) was buried in the tomb of Shah Abdul Ghafur, situated at the foot of the fort of Gwalior.[27]

When God lights the world illuminating laminae of fortune at first. He suppresses the rebels and trouble-shooters, inflicts upon them condign punishments and protects the World embellishment beauty of the heavenly gifted empire from the wound of the evil life of time and fills the ears of the people with the resounding mine of peace and composure.

The country (mulk) of Bengal, which is another country (aqlim) by itself, was in utter chaos. His Majesty assigned its supervision and administration to the illustrious noble, Muazzam Khan and issued a farman accordingly. A copy of the farman is produced here. Let it be known to Muazzam Khan (Mir Jumla) that the petition (arz-dasht), submitted by him concerning the flight of that ungrateful wretch (na-Shuja) from Decca towards Mukh and (about the conquest of Bengal), has been seen by His Majesty (fol. 48a). Thank God the expedition, by his efforts has been successful according to the wishes of His Majesty. The great victory could be an embellishment of the victorious and illustrious monarchs.

Whatever you have achieved as a result of your bravery and fidelity is quite evident. Your loyalty has been amply rewarded by the Lord of the World.

The letter which you have written to Muhammad Amin Khan was also placed before His Majesty. It indicates that the province (suba) of Bengal is without law and order. Therefore a person well-qualified in the act of administration (*band-o-bast*) should be appointed to its subedari. Lack of law and order, negligence, incapability and ingratitude rampant in that country, which was evident to everybody. Under such conditions it was not possible to establish (proper) administration there, more so when further disturbances had taken place and mischief-mongers were active in every district (zila).

When the exalted noble (Mir Jumla) was appointed to suppress the rebellion of that unlucky man (Shuja) and the post of subedari was entrusted to him that recipient of grand favour loyally had submitted (fol. 48b) : "If at this juncture the subedari (of Bengal) is bestowed upon this slave, the soldiers posted in the army may hesitate to perform their duty properly ; (there is a possibility) that efforts on the part of this slave to liberate that part of the country may be interpreted as an act of selfish desire." Therefore, (the appointment) was postponed.

Now, by the grace of God, the whole of that region, which is an important province (suba) of the imperial dominion and which was the seat of the great sultans (in the past), has come under the control of the servants of the state, its management and administration cannot be entrusted to anybody other than that pillar of state (*izd-ul-khilafat*). Thus, as a token of kindness the selected post of the subedari of the province (suba) of Bengal, is given to that *Umdat-ul-Mulk*, who is famous for good behaviour and protection of the subject, for good treatment (of the people) and for administering justice. Everything connected with the administration of that province (suba), has been left (in the hands of) the *motamid-ul-sultanat*. Your mansab, with actual (asl) and increase

(*izafah*) has been fixed at 7,000/7,000, zat and sawars, out of which 3,000 *sawars* will be *do-aspa* and *sih-aspa*. Those palaces (*mahals*), which earlier have been given in *jagir* to the subedars of that province (suba) in salary (tankhawah) and are selected palaces (mahals) whose revenue consists of *hasil* only, has been bestowed on you. For the salary (talab) of the mansab of each individual, I am granting one *carore dams* as inam separately. (I am also conferring) a robe of honour (*khilat-i-fakhirah*), two Iraqi and Arabi horses of the private and special swift-breeding stable (fol. 49a), which were sent as present by the ruler of *Rum* (Turkey) to Ala Hazrat (Shah Jahan) in the 31st regnal year of his reign, forty Turkish horses, one special (*khasah*) elephant with a female elephant and a keeper (*filban*) upon that pillar of state (*Rukn-ul-khilafat*).

It has also been ordered that if any palace (*mahal*) (from the *mahals*, given in *jagir*) is less productive then it can be exchanged with any dependency (pargana), desired by you, (It) may be submitted to His Majesty and it will be accepted. A girdle and a studded dagger have also been given to you. Therefore, it is incumbent that after receiving this exalted order (farman) being thankful to His Majesty, engage yourself in the management (band-o-bast) of that province (suba). Take care of the subject (riyat) and the common people. Punish the evildoers and chastise the rebellious. Take care of the artillery and guard the roads and highways. (You) should not allow the strong to oppress the weak and in all the matters should follow the law of *Shariat* and justice. With full courage look after the tranquillity of the creation of God and the prosperity of the inhabitants. (Protect) the travellers by safeguarding the boundaries and frontiers. You should act in a manner in which the majority of the inhabitants be protected from the calamity of the trouble-mongers and they living in peace, engage themselves in their professions and cultivation. Exert to establish good administration in that part of the country.

As to the regulations of the navy (fol. 49b), which is

one of the most important part of the administration of the province (suba), you should exert yourself fully. You should avoid useless and unnecessary complexities so that the administration of the navy be restored, according to the rules laid down by Ibrahim Khan. After establishing law and order in that region you should suppress all the rebellious zamindars, especially of Asham (Assam) and Mukh, who because of lack of foresight, harass the Muslims constantly. Send the actual report of the soldiers serving in that province (suba), of those who have been appointed for a year and were posted in that province (suba) as reinforcements, and of those, who, at this moment, have been called to the Court. Get all details confirmed from individuals. Whosoever, from amongst the soldiers has been called to Court, you do not consider fit enough to be posted in that province (suba) or out of the soldiers posted in that province (suba) whosoever you consider unfit (to serve there), petition accordingly. It will be accepted.

RECEIPT OF THE REPORTS OF THE REBELLIOUS ACTIVITIES OF SHIVAJI IN THE DOMINION OF THE DECCAN : HIS SUBJUGATION OF ADIL KHANI, TALKOKAN, AND MANY OF HIS FORTS, OCCUPATION OF SALHIR AND MALHIR FORTS. DESPATCH OF AMIR-UL-UMARA SHAISTA KHAN FOR THE CHASTISEMENT OF THE REBEL, SHIVAJI AND APPOINTMENT OF MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH AND OTHERS :-

When the Emperor came to know that, "the wretched, Shivaji, having collected a large rabble of mischief-mongers and miscreants had caused disturbance and devastation in the dominion of the Deccan, and that he had also taken control over the *Adil Khani*, *Talkokan*, with most of its forts like *Salhir*, *Malhir*, *Ankl*, *Dank*, *Mahuta* and *Tarmak*, which are included in the territory (taluqa) of Baklana.[26] He recalled Maharaja Jaswant Singh from the *subedari* (fol. 50a) of Ahmadabad, Gujarat and appointed

Mahabat Khan in his place.[29] Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan was appointed to command the dominion of the Deccan for the chastisement of the rebel (Shivaji).[30] The following other nobles (amirs) were attached to his army naming Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Rao Bhao Singh, Rao Ram Singh, Raja Rai Singh Sisodia, Asaf Khan,[31] Namdar Khan, Mukhlis Khan, Qutbuddin Khan, Raja Debi Singh and other *mansabdars* with a force of 50,000 (fifty thousand) horsemen (sawars) and unlimited pieces of artillery with Saf Shikan Khan as its incharge (daroghi)."

Shaista Khan, covering a number of stages, reached the vicinity of Ahmadanagar in a month. On his arrival there, he pitted himself against the enemy. In due course many conflicts occurred resulting in the death of a large number of them (the rebels) **(fol. 50b)**. The mischief-mongers, with no stamina to resist (the imperial army), became vagrants in the wilderness of flight. The above mentioned Khan posted his soldiers in every district (zila) and place, which could possibly serve as a place of ingress and egress to them (the enemy). He himself laid siege to Poona and Chakanah forts and laid out batteries (morchals) on all sides and closed the roads of supply of food. But the adversity-afflicted troops every day made a skirmish when beaten they vanished.[32] Meanwhile, the news reached that on account of the scarcity of grain, the condition of the garrison (the imperial army) had become desperate.[33] Thus, Partap Rai and Shaikh Ibrahim, two of their chiefs (sardars) had been sent from the fort of Parenda with a force of 40,000 (forty thousand) horsemen (sawars).[34] Amir-ul-Umara and the Maharaja seeing the large number of the non-believers but trusting upon the grace of God and the prestige of His Majesty, prepared themselves for a showdown. The brave imperial cavalry (sawars), spurring their horses and drawing their blood-thirsty weapons, engaged themselves in a bitter conflict (against the enemy). But after two or three hours (saat) the evening threw a veil of darkness on the face of soldiers. The wretched rebels, who were unable to bear the

valorous attacks of the imperial army, retreated towards the fort of Purandhar etc. But the victorious army pursued the rebels and slaughtered a large number of them with their blood-thirsty swords, threw them on the ground of disgrace and took a large number of them prisoners also. After passing one quarter (pahar) of the night, the tired men of the imperial army returned to the victorious camp. Some of them were wounded so they were busy in dressing their wounds. Quite a large number (of them) were exhausted also. Thus, the proper care of the sector (morchal) was not taken (by them).

At dead of night (**fol. 51a**), a force of 2,000 (two thousand) horsemen (sawars) armed with spears, came out of the fort and through the sector (morchal) of Ikram Khan entered the imperial camp (Urdu). A few, separating themselves, entered the drum house (naqqarkhana) and, killing most of the drum-beaters (naqqarchis), sounded the drum and trumpet. Soon they beat it so furiously that none could penetrate into their design. A big party raided the camp (daira) of Amir-ul-Umara. Although a few of the servants of him, who were present there, fought against (the enemy) but all of them were consigned to immortal death. In this malee Amir-ul-Umara got time and was able to hide himself (in a safe place). Keeping in view the chastity of the women folk, he killed with his own hands a number of ladies of *harem* and maid servants. The daughter of Amir-ul-Umara, who could not escape, was taken prisoner (by the enemy). In short, when the matter was reported to the Emperor, it greatly afflicted his heart and he removed Amir-ul-Umara from the command (sardari) of the Deccan.[35]

The command (sardari) of the expedition was assigned to Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Though the Maharaja, for two years, made hectic efforts and fought a number of bloodly battles (against the enemy), the insurgence of the enemy instead of declining increased much more. The Emperor, in due consideration of the state of affairs, recalled the Maharaja (from the Deccan) (**fol. 51b**).[36]

Raja Jai Singh was appointed to supervise that campaign[37] and Dilir Khan was assigned the command of the Van. The Raja, who possessed great skill and had no rival in diplomacy, reached the dominion (of the Deccan). He divided the army into four sections ; the first under the leadership of Dilir Khan, the second under the command of Daud Khan,[38] the third under the direction of Saf Shikan Khan, and the fourth under the control of Qutbuddin Khan. All the four commanders (sardars) were appointed to deal with the rabble of free-booters while he himself encamped at the foot of Purandhar. At last the brave warriors, fighting a number of battles with great stamina and courage, harassed and scattered, the "Dwellers of Hell." Mirza Raja himself, with careful planning, captured the fort of Purandhar.[39] After this occurrence, the enemy was able to gather about 1,30,000 (one lakh and thirty thousand) horsemen (sawars) from all sects and classes and increased their high-handedness. They were able to capture a large number of forts, belonging to the *Farangis*. Qutbul-Mulk and Adil Khan agreed to pay the tribute (peshkash) to save their territories. Chauth was levied for the provinces (subas) of Berar, Khandesh, Baklana and Tilingana. They succeeded in extracting Khandi from the vicinity of Aurangabad. By stages, the enemy reached the port of Surat and seized of about three crore of rupees from the treasury and the wealth buried underground (dafina). Their raids caused great panic and consternation in the province (suba) of Gujarat (**fol. 52a**).[40] (Further account of their sedition would be recorded at its proper place).

FOOT NOTES

1. "Murad Bakhsh was arrested on the further side of Mathura" *A.N. 138.*

   "Murad Bakhsh was arrested near Mathura," *Storia : 1,300.*

2. Verses have been left out. see, fol. 33a.

3. For the arrest of Murad see also : Kambu, 19a: Aqil, 66-70; Masum. 82b-86a (is also very like); *A.N.* 138 (merely mentions the events); K.K. II, 38 and Bhim Sen (both meagre); *Storia, I, 300-306*; Bernier, 66-69; Aurangzeb's public reasons for the arrest (of Murad) are given in *Adab, 188b.* (For communication to Shah Jahan).

4. His name was Izid Bakhsh. *A.N. 139.*

5. "After midnight the prisoner was placed in a covered litter, and sent away. Shaikh Mir and Dilir Khan, two of the trusted generals of Aurangzeb accompanied the party. By rapid marches they reached the fort of Salimgarh at Delhi." All the officers and servants number 20,000 were taken into Aurangzeb's service. Nuruddin and others were honoured. *A.N. 139*; Aqil, 70; *Storia, I, 305-306.*

6. Ishwardas does not only omit the first coronation of Aurangzeb at Delhi, but also various expeditions, led by Khan-i-Dauran to wrest Allahabad from Dara's men, Shaikh Mir to bar the Jamuna against Sulaiman Shikoh and Bahadur Khan to support Khalil-ullah Khan etc. etc. See *A.N. 125, 126, 128, 144-148, 155-159*; Kambu 19a (brief); Aqil, 63-64, 70-71, 72-73.

7. Aurangzeb encamped on the bank of Sutlej.

8. Mohd. Kazim observes that Aurangzeb tempted Dara's officers with hope of reward. He succeeded in enticing many, among whom were men like Raja Rajrup, Khanjar Khan and others. *A.N. 181-82*; see also : Masum, 88b-89a; Kambu 19a; Aqil, 73; *Storia, I, 312.*

9. Contemporary historians do not support Ishwardas' narration that Khwaja got himself arrested and presented letters before Dara Shikoh. He also confuses names. See also *Storia, I, 318, 326-327*; Masum, 93b-96a; *A.N. 270-75.*

10. Kazim writes that Aurangzeb's presence in the Punjab encouraged Shuja to contest the throne once more. He went to Patna, where he gathered an army of 25,000 cavalry (sawars), artillery and a flotilla Under Dara's instructions Rohtas, Chunar and Banaras were surrendered to him. *A.N. 224, 225, 239*; Masum completely neglects the details. See also K.K. II, 45-47.

11. See : *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri, MS. No. 37 of Nadwatul-Ulama, Lucknow, 7235*; *Makatib-i-Alamgiri by N.A. Nadvi, 239.*

12. Verses have been left out. See *fols. 39b, 40a.*

13. Maharaja Jaswant Singh raided the camp of Sultan Muhammad. For the attack of Maharaja see : *A.N. 253-56*; Masum, 110b-11b; K.K. II, 51-53; Kambu, 19b (meagre); Aqil, 76 & 77 (brief and confused), and Ahkam, Irvine MS. 46 (India Office Library MS. 34a gives a few lines more). The best accounts are supplied by Kazim and the anecdotes, 7; K.K. supplies a few interesting details : See also G.D. Sharma op. cit and G.N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, Educational Publishers, Agra.*

14. Ishwardas gives a very meagre account about the battle of Khajuah. Names mentioned by him are also confusing. For the battle see : *A.N. 257-265*; K K. II. 53-56 (mostly a repetition of Alamgir Nama); Kambu 20a & b; Aqil, 75-79; Masum gives a precise picture of the battle as seen from Shuja's side. 102b-105b.

15. Ishwardas account about the activities of Sulaiman Shikoh is very meagre. "Prithvi Singh, the Zamindar of Srinagar hills, wrote a letter to Raja Jai Singh, begging pardon for his offences and offering to surrender Sulaiman Shikoh. At the Raja's request, his son Kunwar Ram Singh was given leave to depart for bringing away Sulaiman Shikon and he brought him to Delhi. He was kept in Salimgarh." *A.N. 600-602.* For details and his fate see also : Kambu, 24; Bernier, 107; *Storia, I, 380*; *A.N. is silent about his fate, 603.*

16. Ishwardas account of Dara's doing is meagre. For Dara's journey from Sindh to Ahmadabad and his doings there see : *A.N. 296-299*; K.K. II, 62-63; Masum, 136b, 137a; Aqil, 80-81. Ishwardas gives an alive picture of the invasion of Marwar after Khajuah.

17. For Jaswant's dealings with Dara, see *A.N. 300, 309-312*; K.K.II, 65-66; Bernier, 85-86; Aqil, 81-84. Ishwardas does not mention the name of battle-field. Dara chose Deora, situated four miles south of Ajmer. It is given in India Atlas (sheet 34 N.E) 4¼ miles south of Ajmer, a little to the east of Rajputana Malwa Railway line.

18. The text reads Bithli. See also *A.N. 313-314*; K.K.II, 67; Aqil, 84.

    A verse ((بیت)) has been left out. See *fol. 43a.*

19. The slaughter is estimated by Ishwardas at 5,000 men on Aurangzeb's side and ten thousand on Dara's the last figure being too high for a force which numbered less than 22,000 men and held an almost impregnable line of which three-fourths were untouched by enemy. Only one hundred fifteen elephants (instead of 150 mentioned by Ishwardas) were killed on the two sides taken together. Kambu says that a heavy slaughter took place in Shah Nawaz Khan's trenches after the imperialists had forced him. 44a. For the

battle our authorities are : *A.N. 314-326*; Aqil, 84-87; K.K.II, 68-71; Kambu, 21a-22a and 44a; Masum, 137b-138a. For the bazar gossip about the course of the fight, *Storia I, 342-343*; Bernier, 87-88.

Verses (قطعه) have been left out. See *fol. 43b.*

20. Dara Shikoh fled with Sipahar Shikoh and Firoze Miwati. His women, too, were removed from danger by his faithful eunuch Maqul.

    Ishwardas gives a very brief account of it. Details about Dara's flight and the pursuit by the imperial forces is given in great detail in Jai Singh's despatches to Aurangzeb contained in *Haft Anjuman.* For flight see *A.N. 409-415, 418-419*; Masum, 138-145; Bernier, 88-97· & Aqil, 88.

21. Dara was taken prisoner with Sipahar Shikoh by Malik Jewan, the zamindar of Dadar. Jewan informed Bahadur Khan through a letter. The latter hastened and took charge of both. Jewan was honoured by a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), a mansab of 1,600/200 zat and sawars and the title of Bakhtiyar Khan. *A.N. 432.* For other account see also : Kambu, 22b to 23a.

22. Bahadur Khan brought Dara Shikoh to the exalted Court. Dara was kept in the palace of Khizirabad where he was executed, while Sipahar Shikoh was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. *A.N. 433.* see also Masum. 143b-145b; Bernier, 102; Tavernier, I, 354; *Storia, I, 358*; Kambu, 24a; K.K.II, 87 (brief) & *M.A. 26-27.*

    Verses have been left out, see fol. 44b. "Mir Jumla performed this task." For other details see *A.N. 344 & 501.*

23. Ishwardas commits chronological mistakes as usual when he observes the recapture of Rajmahal by Shuja first and then Sultan's flight to the former. Actually, Sultan fled to Shuja first and he later captured Rajmahal. *A.N. 516-519*; Masum, 125 & 98

24. In the copy "Bakhur-khanah" is given. It seems to be a mistake. It should be gur-khanah. Sultan was married to Shuja's younger daughter, Gul Rukh. See *A.N. 406, 407 & 411*; Masum, 120b-124a; Aqil, 96.

25. "At this time news came from Bengal that Prince Muhammad Sultan at the time of Shuja's flight to Decca had repented of his conduct, came back to Akbarnagar in the same way that he had left it, and joined Islam Khan. Muhammad Mirak, mace-bearer carried to him a robe (khilat) with rarities from the Emperor, and Fidai Khan was ordered to bring him to the court. He was imprisoned on 26th April, 1660 A.D.". *M.A. 30.*

26. Ishwardas observes that Shuja, who wanted to flee, was lost at sea. Upto this time none knows anything." About Shuja's fate in

Arracan. It is not known he is dead or alive." Salih, 21b, see also : *A.N. 561*; K.K.II, 110; *Storia, I, 374-76.*

27. Murad was beheaded in the month of Rabi-us-Sani A.H. 1072. K.K II, 156. See also : *A.N. 603*; Kambu, 246; Bhim Sen, I, 35 & Manucci, I, 382-3.

28. "The territory of Baklana contains nine forts, the strongest of its forts are Salhir and Malhir. Salhir is placed upon a hill, Malhir also stands on a hill. "Trimak is situated on its south." Out of nine Ishwardas has mentioned six forts *Badshah Nama, II, 105.*

29. The date of Mahabat Khan's appointment to the *subedari* of Gujarat is mid July, 1662. The highest mansab he held was 6,000/5,000 (3,000x 2-3h). *M.A. 41*; *A.N. 162*; *M.U.I, 531-535.* Also Athar Ali op. cit. 176.

30. "Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan was appointed the subedar of the Deccan (July 1659). *M.A. 26*; K.K.II, 119 to 122.

31. There were only four Asaf Khans, the last one, brother of Nur Jehan had died before the accession of Aurangzeb 1656-1657 A.D.

32. "He, after properly punishing Shivaji's men, established, posts in some places." *M.A. 33.*

    Chakanah, a place frequeatly mentioned, is not a port, but lies a little North of Pune. See an account of Chakanah in Grant Duff's, op. cit. I, 61. Shivaji was so much harassed that he could not stay for a week at one place. K.K. II, 172.

33. Ishwardas says the imperial army faced grain shortage while other sources do not mention about this scarcity. See : *M.A. 33* & K.K.II, 172.

34. Shaikh Ibrahim attacked Shaista Khan is not correct. See ! *M.A. 267-68.*

35. Ishwardas's account is very meagre about it. "The night attack of the infernal Shivaji on the camp of Amir-ul-Umara, resulted, the cutting off his four fingers during the encounter and the slaughter of his son, Abul Fateh Khan. As this incident was due to the negligence of this distinguished noble, the Emperor punished him by transferring from the subedari of the Deccan, which was given to Prince Muhammad Muazzam. The tenure began from May 1663." *M.A. 45.* "In the morning Raja Jaswant Singh, who was commander of Amir-ul-Umara's forces, came in to see the Amir, and made his apology, but the high-born noble spoke not a single word beyond saying : "I thought the Maharaja was in His Majesty's service, when such an evil befell on me." The subedari of the Deccan and the command of the forces employed against Shivaji was given to Prince Muhammad Muazzam. Maharaja Jaswant Singh continued as

before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince." K.K.II, 176. Bhim Sen blames Maharaja Jaswant Singh and he specifically mentions "the raid of Shivaji was incited by Raja Jaswant Singh." *Dil Kusha*, I, 25.

36. The subedar was Prince Muhammad Muazzam who was called back from the Deccan. See *M.A. 45-46* and K.K., II, 176.

37. Mirza Raja Jai Singh was appointed with other famous commandant to put Shivaji down. The year of Jai Singh's appointment is *1664 A.D. M.A., 486* for other details see K.K.II, 177.

38. Daud Khan Qureshi, son of Bikhan Khan, was a Shaikh Zada of Hissar Firuza. He gave full assistance to Mirza Raja in dealing with Shivaji. See *M.U. II, 32-37.*

39. Ishwardas mentions that Mirza Raja captured the fort of Purandhar which is fully wrong.

    Mustaid Khan and Khafi Khan, both the contemporary and near-contemporary historians, do not mention it. *M.A.* : *51* & K.K. II, 178-80.

40. Shivaji ransacked Surat twice. Early in the morning of Tuesday, 5th January, 1664, Surat was ransacked by Shivaji and Ishwardas mentions the above mentioned things happened during the subedari of Mirza Raja. But other contemporary and near contemporary sources describe that Surat was ransacked between the departure of Shaista Khan and the arrival of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Secondly, on 2nd Oct., 1670. *M.A. 106* and K.K. II, 177, & *English Factories in India, 1661-1664*, by Sir William Foster and Bernier, 188.

Occurrence IV Comprises

THE EMPEROR'S MARCH FOR ADMONITION AND CHATISEMENT OF SHIVAJI, THE ACCURSED AND HIS FOLLOWERS, WHO HAD RAISED THE STANDARD OF REBELLION AND DEVASTATION, CAUSING DISRUPTION IN THE IMPERIAL DOMINIONS. THE SUSPENSION OF THE MARCH AS A MATTER OF POLICY ON ACCOUNT OF HIS (SHIVAJI'S) SUBMISSION TO THE EMPEROR THROUGH MIRZA RAJA, HIS CONSEQUENT APPEARANCE AT THE COURT, CONFINEMENT AND ESCAPE TOWARDS HIS 'WATAN'.

The Emperor, who was as powerful as fate and esteemed like Sulaiman, after appointing Danishmand Khan,[1] an expert in conducting such affairs, the *subadar* of the capital, Shahjahanbad, himself started towards the dominion of the Deccan, which had been under the wretched, Shivaji. All the zamindars (of that region) were the accomplices of that mischief-monger (Shivaji).[2] This was done so that the Emperor may return victorious after annexing every inhibited place (mahal-i-maskan).[3]

'Temple Demolition by Aurangzeb.'

When the imperial army was encamping at Mathura, a holy city of the Hindus, the state of affairs with regard to the temples of Mathura was brought to the notice of His Majesty. Thus, he ordered **(fol. 52b)** the *faujdar* of the city, Abdul Nabi Khan, to raze to the ground every temple and to construct big mosques (over their demolished sites).[4]

'The Rising of Gokala Jat near Mathura.'

Meanwhile, Gokala Jat, the zamindar of Tilpat in the territory (taluqa) of Mathura, had collected a large number of jats and other villagers (dehqans), and had raised disturbance there. Consequently, Hasan Ali Khan and Abdul Nabi Khan, with many other nobles (amirs) and a big army, left to chastise them. Covering the distance of ten *karohs*, they reached Tilpat and arranged the battle-field. The rebels, who had by that time mustered 20,000 experienced horsemen (sawars), opposed them. Both sides prepared for a showdown. The rebellious forces in utter pride, galloping their horses, attacked the imperial army and the battle commenced. The 'forces of Islam' (Lashkar-i-Islam) suffered heavy casualities. Large number of its soldiers were either killed or wounded but they stood the ground fast. On the side of the rebels, too a large number of soldiers were put to death and they traversed the road to hell. Now the rebels had no courage to persist and considering flight to be the better part of valour, ran away from the field and took shelter in Tilpat.

The imperial army chased them and laid siege to Tilpat (**fol. 53a**). For three days, there was an exchange of guns and matchlocks fire. But on the fourth day, the experienced and brave soldiers (of the imperial army), attacking it from all sides, entered Tilpat by demolishing all its defences. The battle took a heavy toll of life on either sides. On the victorious side 4,000 men fell and on the side of the rebels 5,000; while the leader of the rebels, Gokala Jat, with his 7,000 comrades was made a prisoner. The Khan produced the captured rebels before the Emperor, who ordered that "the accursed (Gokala Jat) be taken to the abode of punishment where his limbs be hacked off one by one in order to set an example for other enemies of peace." His accomplices were entrusted to the charge of the Kotwal of the imperial camp (Urdu-i-Mualla) so that he may put them in chains and imprison them."

In short, after this success, the Emperor left Mathura for Akbarabad. Covering the distance in three days, he

entered the palace. First of all, he went to the tomb of Hazrat Arsh-i-ashiani (Akbar), which was situated in the village (mauza) of Sikandra, outside the city. Having recited *Fataha* at the exalted grave and distributing large sums of money in charity among the poor, the needy, the desirous and the miserable, the Emperor entered the fort (of Akbarabad).

At this stage, the gift of Arabi and Iraqi horses,[5] sent as tribute (peshkash) by the ruler (wali-i) of Iran **(fol. 53b)** was presented to the Emperor. Since the Iranian ruler, from sheer pride and haughtiness offered undesirable treatment to Tarbiyat Khan, the envoy of the Emperor, it was ordered that the horses be slaughtered at every street (*rah*) and house (makan).[6]

'Shivaji's war with the Sidi of Janjira.'

The facts, regarding the accursed rebel, Shivaji's insurgence in the Deccan, have already been presented in the preceding pages. Here, an account is being furnished of his fresh sedition and trouble-shooting, which reached the ears of the Emperor through the reports of the news writer (sawanih-nigar) to the effect that, "he (Shivaji) has raised the standard of rebellion in different parts of the dominion of the Deccan." The report added that, "he has looted some of the big cities of the Deccan and, establishing his own posts (thanas), has brought the region under his direct control. The people of these regions are fed up with his ruinous, destructive and devastating designs, but not a single zamindar of the region possesses the courage to oppose him. In fact the zamindars of the region concerned, have tendered their submission to him and accepted his overlordship. Their submissive attitude has made Shivaji more courageous and daring. Taking into account his previous successes, Shivaji intends to lay siege to the fort of Dandrajpuri[7] **(fol. 54a)**, which forms part of the territory (villayat) of Bijapur. It is a very high, strong and well-fortified fort and is situated in the midst of the sea. It is said that it was built by Paras Ram, who is considered to be an '*Avtar*' by the Hindus." In brief

his (Shivaji's) objective in laying siege was to obstruct the boats coming from Rum (Turkey), Syria, England, Arabia, Gardistan, Portugal, Holland and other countries and to bring it under his control. He joined hands with the evil-seekers of Konkan and marched to the aforesaid fort. But Sidi Yaqut, the commandant of Dandrajpuri, zealously defended it with the help of gunfire and matchlocks and did not let Shivaji come near it. When Shivaji failed in his designs, he constructed a strong platform and began firing (the gun) at the fort. This dragged on for two years.

The garrison finding further resistance impossible, sent a message of peace to Mirza Raja Jai Singh (fol. 54b), asking for help on conditions, buttressed with promise and undertaking saying, "From today I accept the overlordship of the Emperor and join the imperial service but I should not be asked to wait upon the subedar of Deccan and be given from the treasury of the port of Surat, every year one lakh and fifty thousand rupees for the maintenance of the artillery (*tope-khana*) and the fort. I will not permit passage to the ships of the enemy, but shall (allow) free passage to the imperial ships."

Mirza Raja forwarded the petition (arz-dasht) of Sidi Yaqut containing the above-mentioned facts together with, "an account of the disturbance of Shivaji, his siege of Dandrajpuri, the submission of Sidi Yaqut on the above noted conditions and made a request for help from the exalted throne." When the full details of the occurrences reached the ears of the Emperor through the petition (arz-dasht) he accepted it. Consequently, two sets of orders (farmans) were issued. The first to Mirza Raja ordering him "to help the Sidi and to crush the wretched, Shivaji, and the second to the Sidi asking him to stay in the fort with a promise of help."

'Mirza Raja Forces Shivaji to Submit.'

Mirza Raja, accompanied by a large army, arrived near the fort of Dandrajpuri. He lured two or three prominent, distinguished and gallant servants of Shivaji by promising them *mansabs* of 5,000 (five thousand) horsemen (sawars)

(fol. 55a), *Jagirs* in their native places and kettle-drum (naubat) if they deserted him (Shivaji). Indeed, the Raja succeeded in his designs.[8] Their desertion created differences in the enemy's camp. Those, who were dominant (up to now) became subdued. Shivaji, who had taken refuge in the midst of the sea, found no way of his escape. He further feared that in case he got abroad by a ship, the deserters would pursue him and even kill him. This would come as a big calamity to the high and the low (khas-o-am). Finding no way out of his dilemma, he decided to submit to the Emperor. Therefore, he sent a message to Mirza Raja and through promises, agreements and firm compact, he arrived to see the Raja.[9] When Shivaji reached near the (Raja's) camp, Mirza Raja sent Ikhlas Khan[10] and Kanwar Kirat Singh[11] to greet him. As Shivaji approached the entrance of the tent of the Raja, he himself got up and advanced to the limit of the tent to receive him (Shivaji). Mirza Raja embraced him and, taking him along with him, seated him on the cushions (masnad). At that time, the enemy (Shivaji) presented a very costly Ruby (weighing fifty misqal) to the Raja and begged pardon for the offences he had committed against the exalted court.[12] He surrendered twelve forts to the officers of the imperial Court and handed over their keys to the Raja.[13] The meeting lasted four hours (saats). Thereafter, he returned to his residence (fol. 55b).

In short, Mirza Raja in his petition (arz-dasht) referred to the submission of Shivaji, his visit, his soliciting of pardon for his offences, the surrender of 12 (twelve) forts and their keys, his suspensions of actions and the request for postponement of the march of the sublime standards towards the Deccan. This alongwith the petition (arz-dasht) of Shivaji was forwarded to the illustrious court. Both the petitions (arz-dashts) were perused by His Majesty, who appreciated and applauded the achievement of Mirza Raja The Emperor issued a set of two orders (farmans). The first addressed to Mirza Raja, containing the imperial favours to him i.e. an elephant, a sword with studded hilt, a horse with golden trappings and a robe (khilat), and

directed that Shivaji be sent to the court along with Kanwar Kirat Singh and that he (the Raja) should continue there to supervise and look after the administration (of the area)."[14] The second one was addressed to Shivaji indicating the concessions and favours granted to him by the monarch and ordering him to come with full confidence and ease of mind to the imperial Court." After receiving the two *farmans*, Mirza Raja sent Shivaji, accompanied by Kanwar Kirat Singh, to the imperial Court.[15]

DEPARTURE OF SHIVAJI IN THE COMPANY OF KANWAR KIRAT SINGH, HIS ARRIVAL IN THE AUGUST PRESENCE OF THE EXALTED EMPEROR AND HIS BEING LED INTO AUDIENCE.

(fol. 56a) When Kanwar Kirat Singh having left for the exalted court, arrived near the capital, orders were issued requiring the great nobles, the illustrious Khans and the famous Rajas that to clad in gorgeous dresses to stand in the audience hall (diwan-i-khas-o-am), according to their rank and status. From the audience hall to the entrance of the fort the *ahadis* in red robes and the musketeers, fully clad in the garments of brocade and velvet of Kashan and gold embroidered, made in Portugal and fully armed, should stand in line. In front of the entrance gate elephants, fully caparisoned should stand in two rows side deep. And on the top of the palace the servants of parade (yasawals), carrying gold and silver maces, should be constantly taking rounds. All the mace-bearers and the marshals (mirtuzaks), with their gold and silver maces, were to be present in the audience hall in all their majesty.[16] After passing one quarter (*pahar*) and four *gharis* of the day, Shivaji left for the audience hall. When from the gate of the fort he reached the audience hall he was stunned at the imperial magnificence and glory which symbolizd the Divine Wrath. From that part he performed the rites of *Kurnish* and *Taslims*, and then advanced towards the foot of the throne, which is like sky (Arsh). He obtained the honour of being in audience of the sublime monarch and gathered the felicity of both the worlds. There-

after, he scattered gold and silver as *nisar* and presented different types of precious stones as nazar. After this the marshal (mirtuzuk) was asked to assign a place to Shivaji in the row of the *mansabdars* of 5,000, below Raja Rai Singh. Shivaji was shocked to receive such a cold treatment. In short, he was made to stand for four hours (saats) there (fol. 56b).[17] Later on, Salabat Khan was ordered to take Shivaji with him and to lodge him in his own haveli. Then Faulad Khan Kotwal was ordered to keep watch (chauki) with his men and soldiers. From that day, Shivaji was prohibited from appearing in the presence of Emperor.[18]

After a few days a signal was given to Kanwar Kirat Singh that that unfortunate wretch be released from the captivity of pride and haughtiness so that a thorn be removed from the foot of the world. But bearing in mind the promises and assurances his father had given him (Shivaji), he procrastinated and warned that unfortunate man of the design also. After hearing this news, Shivaji was much frightened and perturbed. He started thinking out ways and means for his escape. He sent a message to the Kanwar saying, "I came to the Court on the assurances of your father. It is regretful that the practice is quite contrary. Even if a handful of my bones are mixed with dust, how great shame will stick for long in the minds of the people of the world ?" Then the Kanwar sent a reply through others to this effect : "I am more concerned about your libration than you. Don't be impatient ?"

Afterwards, Kanwar Kirat Singh said to Salabat Khan, "The visit of Shivaji was on the assurances of my father. Everyone knows that my father sent him to the Court. But the wish of His Majesty appears to be otherwise. This would injure the reputation of my father. If Shivaji is put to sword all the blame would fall on my father. Therefore, do whatever you can to effect Shivaji's release." In short, the Khan who was greatly attached to Mirza Raja (fol. 57a) and was a past master of diplomacy, replied to Kanwar Kirat Singh that, "there is no

other way of his release except that every day four *maunds* of sweets should be distributed in the following manner. "Small baskets of these should be sent to the *bazar* to be distributed among the poor and the needy and the rest (of it) be sent to the houses of the nobles (amirs) and the *rajas*. This process should continue for a few days. (One day he should make his escape), sitting in one of the baskets. Besides this, there is no other way out." In the end the Kanwar liked this happy device and communicated the same to Shivaji. From that day, every evening Shivaji sent baskets full of sweets to the houses of the nobles (amirs) and the *rajas* and also distributed (some part of it) among the poor and the needy. For one month, it continued like this. One day Faulad Khan Kotwal, who had been appointed to keep vigil on him, humbly submitted to the Emperor that, "this device is not free of deceit. If the king so orders, I shall prohibit that labourer of the world from it and shall obey the rules of imprisonment." But the Emperor did not pay much attention to his submission.[19]

'RUNNING FLIGHT OF SHIVAJI OF EVIL DESTINY FROM THE PRISON AND HIS DEPARTURE TOWARDS HIS OWN LAND.'

That evening, because (fol. 57b) escape in the bright light of day was fraught with adversity, taking his seat in a basket, he came out of the prison and in the course of night, reached Mathura. There he took shelter in the house of Gokal, the Brahman, who was his *purohit*. When the first part of night was over, the Emperor received the news of his escape from prison. The mace-bearers, the *ahadis* and others were ordered that a search be conducted for him in every house (mahal) and inn and wherever caught, let him be brought to the imperial Court. In short they made a hectic search for three days, but the irony of fate was that no trace of the escaped prisoner could be found. So they reported their failure in tracing Shivaji. On this Kanwar Kirat Singh was rebuked and was deprived of his *mansab*.[20]

The evil-mannered, Shivaji, stayed for a few days in the house of the Brahman. Then, dressing himself poorly and accompanied by the same Brahman, he went out of Mathura in the guise of a beggar. Thereafter, he proceeded to Banaras and Gaya, the holy places of the Hindus. There he performed the religious ceremonies, according to the rites and customs of the Hindus. Thereafter, through Jharkhand he reached his (own) land. Covering the jungles and plains, he succeeded in reaching the fort of Rajgarh.[21] The resident of Mathura, who had accompanied him throughout, was bestowed lavish presents in the form of gold, silver, horses, elephants, a *jagir* and the title of *kab-kalas*.[22] Later on he collected a large army and raised the standard of rebellion.

During (fol. 58a) the same period, Mirza Raja had launched an attack on Bijapur. Sharza Khan and Sidi Masud were opposing him. In the battle thousands and thousands of the fighting troops lost their lives. At last, Mirza Raja could not do anything because the enemy forces outnumbered him. This news was carried to the court and the Emperor called the undeserving (to the Court).[23] Thereafter the Emperor despatched Dilir Khan with other nobles (amirs) towards the Deccan.[24] Anyway Mirza Raja, covering stage after stage, came to Burhanpur and there he undertook a journey to the other world (breathed his last).[25]

Maharaja Jaswant Singh interceded with the Emperor for forgiving the sins of Kanwar Kirat Singh and for the restoration of his *mansab* by bestowing the title of the Raj and the Tika of Amer upon him. Since forgiveness of sins, acceptance of apology and cherishing of his servants is divinely ingrained in the nature of His Majesty, he very graciously and kindly accepted the recommendation (of Maharaja Jaswant Singh). The royal favour, conferred upon him (Kirat Singh) the title of the 'Raja' with the 'Tika' of *Amer* and in the evening permitted him to go.[26]

Meanwhile, the *harkaras* reported to the Emperor that, "Dilir Khan has reached the vicinity of Deccan. Having in

mind the sedition of the enemy, the Emperor appointed Prince Muhammad Muazzam to the command (sardari) of the Deccan.[27] The Maharaja and other nobles (amirs) were ordered to accompany him." They all arrived in the happy foundation (Khajista Buniyad), Aurangabad[28] (fol. 58b).

During this time, Dilir Khan had captured plenty of gold and silver from Deogarh Chanda. Thereafter, he came back to Aurangabad and sent a letter of promise to the king that, if for two years, he be provided the war material i.e. artillery and the things necessary for the capture of the fort, he would see that the enemy would not dare raise its head. Therefore, the Emperor sent a *farman* to the Prince asking him to make the necessary arrangements, according to the undertaking of Dilir Khan. But intoxicated by the fabulous fortune, Dilir Khan lost his mental equilibrium and became proud and haughty. He did intend once or twice to pay his respects to the Prince but every time he was prevented by feelings of fear and hope and he postponed his visit to him on one pretext or another. When the Prince sent a message and asked upon the Khan to come to him, he replied, "The Maharaja occupies an important position in his (Prince) camp and he would not like to pay his respects through any intermediary." After a long exchange of correspondence it was settled that Dilir Khan would come to pay his respects to the Prince and the latter would provide all the equipment and seige-engines to the Khan, according to the order of the Emperor. What actually happened was this :- "Dilir Khan, by birth, was a *Daud-Zai-Rohilla*. He was one of the most distinguished and gallant knights of his time. He had rendered marvellous services to the state (Apart from his martial qualities and fame), he was very much in love with saints and scholars (fol. 59a) and he passed much of his time either in the company of the saints or observed fasts or prepared prayers. In spite of all these victorious deeds and pious actions, he sometimes set aside his dedication to God and became extremely cruel. For quite a long time, he was incharge (hakim) of Gondwana and had chastised and killed some of the zamindars of that region. Thus he had acquired

plenty of wealth and booty. When the Prince and the Maharaja reported his pride and discourtesy to the Emperor, the reply they received was, "If you can, try to stop it."

During this time, he raided the land of Partap Rai, the chief (sardar) of Munghi Patan. And the aforesaid Khan two days before the receipt of light scathing farman, had crossed the river Gang (Godawari) and was being engaged in suppressing the accursed enemy there. At that very stage he heard the news of the farman of the Emperor. He was already suspicious and his mind was perplexed with all sort of imaginary notions. When he heard the report of the receipt of the imperial farman, he became much perturbed. Although it was rainy season and there was much mud and mire he did not care for any trouble. He set fire to his tents and other goods and cremated some of his possessions into the river Gang (Godawari) and took to flight on a horse with a stick in his hand. Rao Rai Singh and Jagat Singh Hada being his companions also (fol. 59b) burnt their goods and tents and followed him in flight. The Prince and the Maharaja, after receiving the news of his flight pursued him. Without minding day or night, Dilir Khan reached the ford Akbarpur, situated near the bank of Narbada river. The river was in full spate and its water was flowing fast. Yet he did not wait for a boat to take him across and threw his horse into the river. Upon this, the Rajas and other soldiers followed suit. With the Rajas and some of the soldiers, he was able to cross the river, although quite a large number of men were drowned. After that, he went to Ujjain and for sometime took rest there.[29]

During the same period, Bahadur Khan Koka who was appointed *subedar* of Ahmadabad in place of Mahabat Khan, had reached there. Having heard about the arrival of Dilir Khan, the aforesaid Khan went to Ujjain and brought Dilir Khan with him to Ahmadabad. Then he reported to the Emperor with regard to the loyalty of Dilir Khan and the hostile attitude of the Prince at the instigation of self-seekers and mischief-mongers like the Maharaja (fol. 60a). He also

attached to it a proposal (tajwiz nama), suggesting that Dilir Khan should be giving the *faujdari* of Sorath and sent him towards it. In the end, the proposal of Bahadur Khan was accepted by the Emperor. An order (farman) was issued to the Prince and the Maharaja, ordering them to halt their pursuit of Dilir Khan and to turn their reins towards Aurangabad.[30] Mir Hussain was appointed steward (sazawal) to see that they went towards Aurangabad. When they reached the vicinity of Burhanpur, according to the imperial order (hasbul hukm) the Maharaja was required to stay at Burhanpur and he stopped there while the Prince was to proceed to Aurangabad. The Maharaja had stayed at Burhanpur only for nine months when he was appointed *subedar* of Gujarat.[31] Bahadur Khan was appointed to the *subedari* of the Deccan.[32] Ikhlas Khan and other servants of the court were placed under him. The Prince was ordered to come to the court.

'Failure of Bahadur Khan to conquer the fort of Salhir.'

The aforesaid Khan, with a large force, marched for the conquest of Salhir. The enemy also mobilised a large army. A fierce battle ensued and Ikhlas Khan was wounded. On the imperial side, 5,000 (five thousand) were slain while 50 (fifty) were taken prisoners. On the enemy's side, numerous were slaughtered on the spot (**fol. 60b**). The fort could not be conquered and Bahadur Khan returned to Aurangabad without having achieved his objective and performed many heroic deeds in the Deccan.[33] About the same time the Prince arrived at Shahjahanabad and gathered the felicity of the two worlds by waiting upon the Emperor.[34]

'Release of Muhammad Sultan, Sipahar Shikoh and Izid Bakhsh.'[35]

On the request of Nawab Baiji,[36] Muhammad Sultan and on the recommendation of Nawab Qudsi Ilqab Begum Sahiba[37] Sipahar Shikoh and Izid Bakhsh were released from prison. Muhammad Sultan was created a *mansabdar* of 1,000/1,000 (*zat* and *sawars*).[38] Sipahar Shikoh and Izid

Bakhsh were also given suitable mansabs. Very soon the released Sipahar Shikoh impressed the Emperor by the virtue of his good conduct and obedience. So the Emperor appointed him an important official to discharge the various duties e.g. "Disbursement of the salaries of *jagiri amirs*, imprinting of seal on *farmans* and dealing with the matters of the *Khalisa Sharifa*."

'Mir Khan's Affairs.'

During the same period, Mir Khan,[39] who was transferred from Bihar, paid his respects to the Emperor. Very good services were rendered (by him) so he received high post from the Emperor and gained his confidence also (**fol. 61a**). But on account of his bad luck and in spite of discretion, he became favourably inclined to Prince Muhammad Azam Shah and began to nurse futile ideas. When this information reached the Emperor, he remarked : "A small sparrow should not nurse the ambition of a high flying hawk." But apprehending lest he should create some trouble or disturbance he was removed from his mansab and all his property was confiscated including all the tokens of office, elephants, horses, banners and drums. Thereafter the Emperor ordered him to leave for pilgrimage to Mecca. He started and had reached the vicinity of Jalor when on the recommendation of Asad Khan an order was issued that, "he (Mir Khan) should stay in the city of Ahmadabad, but none of the *mansabdars*, who were there be allowed to see him."

'The Rebellion of the Mundha Sect.'

One of the major occurrences of the year was the outbreak of the Mundha sect.[40] That sect (qaum) is destructible because of its extreme filthiness, uncleanliness and dirtiness. In the tenets of their sect, they made no difference between Hindus and Muslims. They eat dirty pigs and other prohibited meats. If a dog eats from the same dish with them, they feel no distaste or aversion. They do not regard debauchery and adultery as sin.[41] Their chief (sardar), Gharibdas Hada, gathered a large band of bad characters and raised a revolt

in the vicinity (sarkar) of Narnaul[42] (fol. 61b). It was rumoured that in their midst was a woman, who possessed supernatural power and that she collected a big army every night by the power of her magic and that army fought against the imperial army with the result that no attack made by swords, musket-shots and arrows had any effect on it (the army of rebels).[43]

At length this news frightened and preplexed the people, and even brave warriors also hesitated to oppose them (the Mundhas). Those evil-mongers took possession of a number of towns (qasbas) and villages (mauzas) and then attacked Narnaul.[44] But Tahir Khan, the *faujdar* (of the place), having taken a vow, fought against them and in the battle he attained martyrdom.[45] In these circumstances those evil-intentioned men took control of the city of Narnaul and ransackad the property of the inhabitants and destroyed quite a number of mosques and tombs. From there they headed for the town (qasba) of *Bajrat-Singhana*. The news of the tumult of the ill-natured people reached the capital, Shahjahanabad. The prices of grain shot up and the inhabitants were greatly perturbed. Therefore, Rad Andaz Khan, who was entitled Shujaet Khan, Yahiya Khan, Sayied Hamid Khan, Kamal-ud-Din Khan, Kanwar Kishan Singh and other servants of the state with 10,000 horsemen (sawars) were given permission by the Emperor to march against them. When the army reached near the said town (qasba) and there did occur a battle. As the enemy trampling prestige of the sovereign was at the back of the imperial army (fol. 62a) Gharibdas, the leader of that group, was laid low and despatched to Hell in the very first attack. Then other rebels were also put to sword. The killing of the condemned-ones disproved the rumour that they were insusceptible to injury and that it was mere fabrication.[46] News arrived that about 2,000 persons, belonging to that sect were killed. On the imperial side, 40 (forty) persons lost their lives. Kanwar Kishan Singh, who attacked them first and whose elephant received seven sword wounds, distinguished himself (as a warrior).[47]

FOOT NOTES

1. Danishmand Khan, a distinguished and famous noble during the reign of Shah Jahan owed his high ranks to his talents as a man of letters. He employed Bernier in order to discuss with him new principle of medicine. He held the posts of the Mir Bakhshi, the Nazim and the commandant of Delhi. He remained in office of the *subedari* of Shahjahanabad till his death (July 18, 1870). Saqi praises the Khan in the following words: "He was one of the greatest scholars of the age and his life was devoted to charity and piety." *M.A. 100.*

2. For details see :- S. Nurul Hasan, *Thoughts on Agrarian Relation in Mughal India*; *People's Publishing House, February, 1973.* Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-1740)*, Aligarh, *1959.*

3. Ishwardas observes that the Emperor himself started for the Deccan while there is no reference of such movement in the contemporary and near contemporary sources.

4. The significant point to be noted is that contemporary historians content themselves with bare statement that the temples were demolished. The reason for the demolition is silently passed over. Ishwardas uses plural number for temples, meaning that quite a number of them were demolished. "Kasho Rao temple, built by Durjan Singh, the murderer of Shaikh Abul Fazal, was demolished" *M.A. 95, 96, 96, 97 and 100.*

5. Saqi presents the Jat suppression in the following words: "On Saturday, the 18th Shaban, A.H. 1079 (Ist January, 1670) the Emperor took up his residence in the palace of Agra fort. Gokala Jat, the accursed rebel and the ring leader of the provoked rebels, who disturbed the peace of *Tilpat*, killer of Abdul Nabi Khan and destroyer of the Pargana of Sahabad, was captured through the brave efforts of Hasan Ali Khan and his assistant, Shah Raziuddin. The Khan presented him and his comrade, Sonki to the Emperor in the charge of Shaikh Qawam. By imperial orders, his limbs were hacked off one after another in the 'courtyard of Kotwali.' His son and daughter were handed over to Jawahir Khan, the Nazim for being brought up (as muslims). The daughter was married to Shah Quli Chelah the intimate servant of high rank. His son became a memoriser (Hafiz) of the Quran with the name of Fazil, and in the opinion of the Emperor surpassed in correctness all other memorisers, as he had the happiness of hearing his Majesty's chanting of the Quran. *M.A. 94*; also Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of the Mughals, (1556-1707), Bombay, 1963, 339, 42.*

6. The Shah of Persia sent his envoy, Budaq Beg, to India, who sought an interview with Aurangzeb on 22nd May, 1661. The envoy was well

treated. Tarbiyat Khan, in return, was sent to Persia but the Shah did not treat him well, and the mission of the Khan failed. So Aurangzeb got annoyed and refused to see him. *M.A. 47 and 57.*

7. Danda and Rajpuri are two forts which are close together. But Ishwardas describes them as one. Grant Duff, op. cit., I, 61.

8. The treaty, according to all other contemporary and near contemporary sources, was signed at the Purandar fort. *M.A. 106* also: K.K. II, 180.

9. Shivaji sent several letters to Jai Singh, but the latter paid no attention. Then Shivaji sent a Hindi letter and requested the Raja to read it at least once. *Haft Anjuman, 54-55.*

   "The Raja, paying no heed to the deceitful tactics of Shivaji, pressed his attack. When news came that Shivaji had come out of the fort then trustworthy Brahmans came and gave solemn assurances on oath with humility". K.K. II, 181.

10. Ikhlas Khan, Khan-i-Alam, a Deccani noble, held a mansab of 6000/5000 (2-3h). *M.A. 324-384 ; M.U. II, 816-17*; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 18.

11. Kanwar Kirat was the son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, the highest mansab he held was 3,000/2,500. *M.U.I. 156-68 ; M.A. 52* and also Athar Ali, op. cit., 117-8.

12. "When Shivaji was approaching the camp, the Raja instructed his armed Rajputs to be on the alert and careful of treacherous designs." He further mentions that Shivaji begged Jai Singh and said: "I have come before you like a servant ; spare me or punish me." K.K., II, 181-82.

13. According to Muhammad Kazim, Shivaji surrendered twenty two forts, which are as follows ;

   (a) Radrawala or Vajragarh; (b) Purandar; (c) Kondana, (d) Rohira, (e) Lobarh, (f) Isagarh, (g) Tanki, (h) Tikona (i) Khadkala near Kondana in Konkan, (j) Mahuli, (k) Muranjan, (l) Khirdurg, (m) Bhandardurg, (n) Tulsikhu, (o) Nardurg, (p) Khaigarh or Ankola (q) Marg-garh or Atra, (r) Kohraj, (s) Basant, (t) Nang, (u) Karnala, and (v) Sonargarh Margarh (all together 22 forts). *A.N. 905.*

14. Khafi Khan, Saqi and others observe that he was sent to punish Adil Khan. He left on November 20, 1665 A D. The authors further mention that immediately Shivaji left for the imperial court in the company of his son. See *M.A.58, 59 and 60* ; K K. II, 191 to 197.

15. The Court was decorated because it was the 50th Lunar Birth day of the Emperor. *A.N. 963*; *M.A. 56*; K.K. II, 189.

16. "Shivaji presented 1,500 ashrafis as *nazar* and Rs, 6,000 as *nisar*." *M.A. 55 ; A.N. 963 ;* K.K. II, 189.

17. "Rai Singh (a subordinate of Jai Singh and son of Maharana Bhim Singh), who was also a 5-hazari, actually was responsible for informing Shivaji about the position the latter was holding." Bhim Sen, 58. Muhammad Kazim observes Shivaji cherished some absurd fancies and hopes. *A.N. 996.*

"Shivaji after standing for a while created scene. He retired to a corner and told Kanwar Ram Singh that he was disappointed, making unreasonable and foolish comment." *M.A. 50*; K.K. remarks that Shivaji felt publicly humiliated as he was made to stand with Ram Singh." *M.L. II, 190.*

18. "The Emperor, overlooking his former offences, wishes to confer on him favours and giving him permission to depart after a few days " *M.A. 56*; K.K. also mentions that an elephant, jewel and robes of honour were ready for presentation. But Shivaji's dramatic attitude hindered it. He further mentions that Shivaji's unconsciousness was false. M.L. II, 190.

19. Saqi mentions the matter was reported to Mirza Raja and the Emperor asked what promises he had made to Shivaji. The Maharaja was greatly mortified at the turn of the events and wrote to the Emperor to forgive the Maratha chief. He pointed out to the Emperor the necessity of befriending and treating him with considerations. But the Raja assured that he had made no promise to Shivaji, except the terms of the treaty of Purandar. On the receipt of the Raja's reply guards were removed from his house, and Kanwar Ram Singh too, slackened his vigil." *M.A. 56 and 57.* See also K.K. II, 198-204.

20. "Thereupon Kanwar Ram Singh was dismissed from his mansab. An order was sent to Raja Jai Singh saying that the trouble-maker Netaji, who was related to Shivaji and had been created a 5-hazari at the Raja's request and was staying with him, should be arrested and sent to the Court". *M.A. 56 ; A.N. 91 ;* see also K.K. II, 198-201, 217, 220 ; Bhim Sen 56 and 61 and Bernier, 190.

21. The fort Rajgarh was situated three miles S.E. of Torna, and about fifteen miles from Puna." *Grant Duff*, op. cit., I, 132. He renewed war in January 1670 A D. See *M.A. 56* and K.K. II, 198.

22. His title was Kavi Kalash. *M.A. 322.*

23. Ishwardas' account about the campaign of Mirza Raja Jai Singh is very meagre. For details see *M.A.58-59* ; K.K.II, 198.

24. "At this time Dilir Khan by Imperial Command first went to the kingdom of Chanda. Manji Mallar, the zamindar interviewed the

Khan, gave him five lakh of rupees and agreed to pay one crore of rupees as his repayment tribute." *M.A. 59.*

25. Muhammad Kazim states "on the 28th (month is not given) from the newsletters of Burhanpur the Emperor learnt that Raja Jai Singh has died in that city. On the 28th of Muharram A.H. 1077." *A.N. 62.* But the dynastic list maintained by the Jaipur State gives 28th August, 1667 A.D. (18th Rabi, I) as the date of his death and therefore, the news of it may have reached the Emperor on the 28th of Rabi, I, and not possibly on that day in the month of Muharram (10th July, 1667 A.D).

26. The Emperor cherished late Raja Jai Singh's son, Kumar Ram Singh, who had so long been under punishment, by giving him the title of Raja and many favour." *M.A. 62.*

27. Prince Muhammad Muazzam Shah Alam Bahadur, born by Nawab Bai, on the last day of Rajab, 1053 (4th October, 1643). When young he memorised the Quran. He spent the time of his youth mostly in acquiring, learning and combining theoretical knowledge and practice. He spoke Arabic so correctly and elegantly that even the Arabs of Arabia praised it ; and he had a perfect knowledge of the Turki and Persian languages ; in writing, various kinds of hand he could serve as a master and guide to others. He spent most nights in wakefulness, performing the *Nafil*, the daily task, the chanting of the Quran, the reading of books on the Hadis, commentaries on the Quran, Canon Law and right conduct. He won the war of succession and wore the crown. Ibid., 534-5-6.

29. "Dilir Khan went to the kingdom of Deogarh, Kok (Kukia) Singh, the ruler of the place agreed to pay 15 (fifteen) lakhs of rupees as the balance (of tribute) for the past with an additional three lakhs of rupees every year. After having gained composure about the affairs of these places, the Khan again marched with his army by command to the Deccan and was created the mansabdar of 5,000 sawars (2-3h) *M.A. 59,60.*

28. "On Saturday the 7th Shawwal A.H. 1077 (23rd March 1660) Prince Muhammad Muazzam was given the subedari of the Deccan, by an increment of 5,000, he was created the mansabdar of 20,000/12,000 zat and sawars. Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Rai Singh, Saf Shikan Khan and Sarbuland Khan were appointed under him and given favours. Ibid., 60-61.

30. "News came that Prince Muhammad Muazzam had been instigated by flatterers to act in self willed and independent way and the Emperor's letter of advice proved of no effect." *M.A. 101*; *Mirat*, 290 ; Bhim Sen, 73, 75, 80, 82.

31. "In 1081 A.H. (1671) Jaswant Singh was appointed *thanadar* of Jamrud, and given an overcoat for the rainy season, and a horse worth 500 mohars." *M.A. 109.*

32. Bahadur Khan was appointed the subedar of the Deccan on January, 1673 and remained in office till 1676 A.D. Ibid., 109.

33. "The prisoners were released after a time and returned to Ahmedabad On the Maratha side many soldiers were slain and only one chief noteworthy, Surya Rao Kakar, a comrade of Shivaji's youth." Bhim Sen, 115.

34. "In April his mother, Nawab Bai, was sent from Delhi to visit him and bring him back to the right path by her influence. She returned from her mission in September. Iftikhar Khan, the imperial Chamberlain, had harshly reprimanded the Prince. But when the Emperor learnt that the Prince's heart was loyal and that his motives had been mis-represented to him by his enemies, the imperial wrath fell upon Iftikhar Khan for having exceeded his instructions and been guilty of double dealing at Aurangabad. His brother, Muftakhar Khan, too, was punished for communicating official secrets to Dilir Khan. Both brothers remained deprived of office for some months. *M.A. 101-2.*"

35. "On Wednesday, the 16th Shaban A.H. 1082 (27th November 1672) Izid Bakhsh was married to Mihr-un-Nisa Begum, the daughter of the Emperor". *M.A. 121.* "On Monday, the 16th December, 1673, the Emperor ordered that Darbar Khan should bring Muhammad Sultan and Sipahar Shikoh into the khwabgah (sleeping chamber). Both of them had audience, after interview they received robes and emerald Sarpeches. Muhammad Sultan was married to Dustar Banu Begum, the daughter of Murad Bakhsh. On Thursday, 21st Shawwal, 1083 (30th January 1673) Zubdat-un-Nisa Begum was married to Sipahar Shikoh, the son of Dara Shikoh." Ibid., *124-125.*

36. The title is used for Rahmat-un-Nisa, surnamed Nawab Bai. She was the daughter of Raja Raju of the Rajuri State in Kashmir. She died at Delhi in 1691 A.D. For details See. *M.A.*

37. The title is used for Jahan Ara Begum, the elder sister of Aurangzeb.

38. Muhammad Sultan was made a mansabdar of 20,000/ zat and 10,000 (sawars). But this mansab was given in A.H. 1085 (1675). *M.A. 139.*

39. Mir Khan was awarded the title of his father Amir Khan, *Ibid. 48.*

40. "There is a group of Hindu mendicants, known as Satnamis, who are also called Mundiyas." *Dabistan-i-Mazahib, 25.* The Bairagis are also called Mundiyas. Manucci explains the nick-name and states

that they were called (Mundihs or Shavelings) because they shaved off all the hair from the body, not even sparing the eyebrows." *Storia, II, 167.* Another sect bearing the name Stanamis, is described in H.H. Wilson's account of Hindu sects, but it was different (sect), as Irfan Habib remarks : "The traditional date of the foundations of this sect by a native of Narnaul is 1657 A.D." Irfan Habib, op. cit., 342.

41. In the early years of Aurangzeb a revenue official declared that though certain "Cultivators" in a village in the pargana of Bhatnair were "living with their women, children, possessions of cattle in the garh of Bairagis, they were not free from the thoughts of sedition and robbery." Balkrishan, f. 56 a-b and Irfan Habib, op. cit., 343.

42. Ishwardas does not mention the cause of their rebellion while Mamuri presents it in the following words : "The revolt began (1672) as a rural affairy. One of the Satnamis, "was engaging himself in his fields when he exchanged hot words with a *piyada*, who was guarding the corn-heap. The *piyada* broke the satnami's head by a blow from his stick. Thereupon, a crowd of the sect mobbed that *piyada* and beat him so much so as to reduce him almost to a corpse." Mamuri, f. 148 b; K.K. II, 253 and Irfan Habib, op. cit, 343.

43. "Living according to the ways of their own community they aspire to reach the status of a good name which is the meaning of the word 'Satnam'. But if anyone should want to impose tyranny and oppression upon them as a display of courage or authority, they will not tolerate it; and most of them bear arms and weapons". Mamuri, 148 b; see also ; K.K. II, 252. *Satnam Sahi and* Irfan Habib, op. cit., 252. The Satnamis were 'grain merchants'. K.K. 252; They were tradesmen. Mamuri, 148 b.

44. "Their strength was 5,000." *M.A. 115.*

45. "Tahir Khan *faujdar*, being unable to resist them,came to the presence of the Emperor who formed the resolution of crushing the describable infidels." *Ibid., 115.*

46. "On Friday, the 15th March, 1672/26th Zil Q. Rad Andaz Khan with the artillery, Hamid Khan with the troops of Khas Chauki and 500 troops of his father Sayied Murtuza Khan, Yahiya Khan Rumi, Najib Khan, Rumi Khan, Kamal uddin, son of Dilir Khan, Purdil son of Firoze Khan Miwati and Asfandiyar, the Bakshi of Prince Muhammad Akbar with a body of the troops, were ordered to set out against the infidels." *Ibid., 116.*

47. "Rad Andaz Khan, Hamid Khan and Yahiya Khan greatly distinguished themselves. The victors were granted audience by the Emperor.

Rad Andaz Khan was given the title of Shujaet Khan, and made a 3,500/200 zat and sawar. Hamid Khan, Yahiya Khan, Rumi Khan, Najib Khan and all other warriors, high and low, got promotions and robes. *Ibid., 116.*

Ishwardas puts the rebellion of the Mundhas before the rising of the Afghans.

"The Afghan north-west rebellion took place in 1086 or 1087 Hijra = (1676 or 1677 A.D.). For detail see K.K.II, 254-55. Elphinstone gives the year 1087, Hijra (1676) as the date of rebellion of the Afghans. (p. 557). Elliot agrees with Elphinstone (Elliot and Downson, VII, 289).

Occurrence V Comprises

OUTBREAK OF SEDITION IN KABUL, MAHABAT KHAN'S TRANSFER AND APPOINTMENT OF MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN AS THE SUBEDAR OF THE PROVINCE (KABUL) AND HIS DESTRUCTION BY THE AFGHANS :-

Among the important events is the insurrection of the '*darul-mulk*, Kabul and the details of which are being recorded as under below :-

"Mahabat Khan, one of the highest, the most faithful and loyal noble (amir) of the time, having been transferred from the *subedari* of the *darul-mulk*, Kabul, was appointed to the command (sardari) of the Deccan, Umdat-ul-Mulk Muhammad Amin Khan, having been removed from the *subedari* of the *darul-sultanat*, Lahore, was appointed as subedar (sahib-i-subaki) of Kabul. The aforesaid Khan who was matchless in bravery, tact, understanding of situation and in the knowledge of affairs, possessed large treasure chest also **(fol. 62b)**. Covering the distance, he reached Kabul and started the administration according to the earlier regulations prevailing there. Meanwhile, the winter set in and it was followed by snow-fall. In that region (Kabul) in winter due to heavy snow-fall, all roads are blocked. Due to intense cold the people have to undergo great privation. Therefore the Khan, leaving his deputy (*naib*) there, marched to Peshawar, where the climate was milder. He spent his time in merry-making, pleasures and entertainments.[1]

In the Rabi season, which means spring, Muhammad Amin Khan started preparations for journey to Kabul. Meanwhile, it so happened that Mirza Ali Beg, the *faujdar*, of Jalalabad, on behalf of the Khan, treated the Pathans of the district (*zila*) badly[2] and that tribe, which exceeded the locusts and ants (in number) and was united among themselves and hostile to the outsiders, collected from every nook and corner, held consultations with each other and decided that the road to Kabul should be blocked so that Umdat-ul-Mulk may not be able to get (there).[3] This news became current in Peshawar but nobody due to the fear of the Khan had the courage enough to utter a word about it (to the Khan). At last, the advance tents (peshkhana) of Umdat-ul-Mulk reached Jamrud, which is situated at a distance of seven *karohs* from Peshawar. The next day he himself entered the camp. The news of the blockade by the Afghans was continuously brought to Makramat Khan, Mirza Bakhshi (fol. 63a), Mubariz Khan, Khanjar Khan, Ghairat Khan and Raja Mandhate etc., which worried and perplexed them. (Therefore) a confidential meeting was held, where it was unanimously decided that, "the Khan should stop at the same place. In a day or two the chiefs (sardars) of the Afghans should be summoned and they be concilliated there and the cause of trouble and disaffection be removed. After the settlement he should cooly (resume) his march." However, nobody, from the sheer fear of respected Khan dared unfold the plan to him. Nevertheless, Makramat Khan and Mubariz Khan, having got a chance for talking this matter over privately, divulged this plan to the Khan who, due to his pride, did not pay any heed to their advice. (Moreover) getting slightly irritated, he remarked that "they are animal-natured domesticated birds. Do they have power and strength enough to take to high flight in the battle-field before us, who are like hawks."

(In short) the next day, he left for Jamrud. In the afternoon the Khan broke his journey and encamped at Ali Masjid. There he arranged his batteries (morchals) and hurriedly deployed his artillery also.

Meanwhile the Afghans descended from the hillside in wave after wave and cut him off from which was situated in the vicinity and started trouble (**fol. 63b**) (there).[4] The scarcity of water created difficulties in the rank and file of the imperial army and the heat of the sun was also oppressive. So the soldiers were put to great difficulties due to thirst a large number of persons and animals died. When Umdat-ul-Mulk saw that, "the army was suffering he, veering from his renowned bravery, opened negotiations with the Afghans and requested them to restore the water-supply." The Afghans demanded the restoration of their annual subsides with special reward (inam). But Umdat-ul-Mulk, who was tipsy with haughtiness and took into account nobody, decided to give battle. (Therefore) he sent a body of veteran warriors under his eldest son, Mir Abdullah, Mirza Sultan and other experienced officers to suppress the insurgents. Mir (Abdullah) at first sent a message for settlement (to the Afghans) saying that, "Peace is better than battle ; therefore, it would be in the fitness of things that water-supply be restored." But atheistic fellows, who were bent upon fighting did not pay any heed to it. (Moreover) getting excited, (they) started showering arrows and musket-fires from all sides. The veteran imperial soldiers, caring little for their lives, with great courage climbed up the top (of the hills) where they killed a large number of the beastly-tempered and evil-minded rebels. Mir Abdullah and Mirza Sultan, exhibiting great valour and courage of youth, became martyres (**fol. 64a**). This calamity created great consternation among the imperial soldiers ; they lost their nerves, everybody began to fly for protection in the hills and the dales. The cohesion of the imperial army was also upset. The Afghans, attacking from all sides, began to plunder the imperial army. Those of the soldiers, who had their families and belonging with them, faced great privations. They had to face thirst on one side and the tyranny of God-forsaken Afghans on the other. Sons were separated from their fathers, daughters from their mothers, wives from their husbands, masters from their slaves and everybody was scattered like pebble. Makramat Khan etc. and other nobles (amirs), moving into hills and dales

sometimes on horses, some times on foot, rising and falling, with great difficulties reached a village (mauza). From there under the guidance of a villager, escaped to Peshawar, while Jahangir Quli Khan and Mirza Bakhshi were killed (in this calamity). In short 10,000 soldiers fell in this expedition and about two crore of rupees in cash and kind was looted by the Afghans. They captured 20,000 (twenty thousand) men and women, whom they sold in Turan and Central Asia (fol. 64b).[5] After this calamity Umdat-ul-Mulk, who had no courage to advance further, returned to Peshawar. He then sent for Mustajab, one of the tribal chiefs (sardars) of Peshawar who, although had the knowledge of things, did not report to him. The Khan arrested him and punished severely and it is said that when the prostrate person cried for water, the Khan replied, "a large number of Muslims have died without water and in retribution if he also dies without water, no harm would be done." Thereafter, he despatched a petition (arz-dasht), containing the story of the sedition of the Afghans and requesting that if he be allowed, he would settle this matter within a year and also avenge (his earlier defeat)." The Emperor in his reply sent a consoling farman with his signature and a verse :. When death brought out its head from the sky, all wise men became deaf and dumb, and appointed him to the *subedari* of Gujarat. Afterwards, keeping in mind revenge, retribution and compensation for the action of the beastly natured Afghans, an order (farman) was issued appointing to the *subedari* of Kabul (fol. 65a), the illustrious noble Mahabat Khan. A *hasbul hukm* was issued to Muazzam Khan, the *subedar* of *darul-sultanat*, Lahore,[6] that he should make all haste to reach the *darul-mulk*, Kabul and there make intensive efforts to tune up its administration till the arrival of Mahabat Khan. After this Mahabat Khan came hastily from the Deccan and paid his respects to the Emperor. Giving him sound advice and good counsel and confering honours on him, the Emperor gave him leave to go to the *darul-mulk*, Kabul.

The Khan, covering the distance quickly, entered Peshawar and Muazzam Khan returned to the *darus-sultanat*, Lahore.

Mahabat Khan, the illustrious noble, thought that the Afghans had committed much high handedness on the army of Muhammad Amin Khan, lest they should behave towards me differently from short-sightedness and I might be disgraced among high and low (khas-o-am) (fol. 65b). Therefore, it would be in the fitness of things to lay peaceful methods with these fierce-beasts. Therefore, he tried every means to win over by peaceful and amicable means all those fierce-beasts. (But) those erring fellows, who did not care to listen or ponder in their haughtiness, raised their hands of opposition and insurgence and displaying highhandedness. (In short) the Khan, having no other alternative and visualizing the situation, sent a petition (arz-dasht) to the imperial court consisting, "a request for imperial help with an adequate number of soldiers."[7] So, according to his request, most of the leading nobles (amirs) were sent there from the Court. Meanwhile, the winter had descended and the heavy fall of snow blocked the route to Kabul. When that season (winter) was over and summer had set in, another order (farman) was despatched, "insisting upon the Khan to go to Kabul." The Khan, because of the urgent orders of the Emperor, marched out of Peshawar and travelled three *karohs* upto Jamrud. From there he summoned the Afghan tribal chiefs (sardars) with assurances and promises, but those ill-natured fellows, having no confidence (in the Khan), nursed false ideas and so he stayed on for some days there. The matter was reported to the Emperor by a *harkara*. The Emperor sent Niaz Beg, mace-bearer stressing (on the point) that he should take the Khan to Kabul. The mace-bearer, arriving at the spot, started to perform his duty. (Therefore) the Khan, keeping in mind the insistent orders of the Emperor, sent Nusrat Khan and Raja Mandhata, who were widely known in that district (zila) for their swordmanship with a force of 5,000 (five thousand) horsemen (sawars) (fol. 66a) as advance guard. They marched towards the pass of *Khariya* and hence they stopped and postponed their movements further. The Khan therefore, sent the mace-bearer to compel Nusrat Khan and Raja Mandhata to advance while he (the Khan) himself reinforced and equipped got ready for war and

followed them. Crossing the *Khariya* pass, he entered Kabul with Nusrat Khan and Raja Mandhata. From there, he despatched a petition (arz-dasht) containing the report of his entry into Kabul through Niaz Beg mace-bearer to the imperial Court. In its reply, an other order (*farman*) was issued containing the following passage. "If the going was so easy why did you wait for so many months, adopting such a long procedure and tolerated the destruction of the province (suba) what is its cause ?" It transpired to the courtiers that the Khan had come to some sort of understanding with the Afghans and made appear to be more difficult. The impression became current among the people that "Mahabat Khan has reached Kabul, while the roads were still blocked as usual, the travellers cannot traverse it without fear. In short, when the matter was brought to the notice of the Emperor, he took measures for the immediate suppression of the wicked Afghans.

(Thereafter)... the great Raja, Maharaja Jaswant Singh (**fol. 66b**) was summoned from the province (suba) of Gujarat to the imperial Court. On the arrival of the Maharaja, he was appointed to the command (sardari) of Kabul.[8] Shujaet Khan, alias Rad Andaz Khan, was also honoured by the Emperor. With a large force and abundant war materials and a strong park of artillery he was appointed to the vanguard of the Maharaja. Both the commanders (sardars) were advised : "to work in cooperation and concert for the suppression of the mean-minded Afghans and to engage themselves in ordering the administration of that land."

Accordingly the Khan and the Maharaja reached Peshawar and encamped there. A large number of the Afghans came from their Tumas to Peshawar, met the Khan and the Maharaja and gave assurances and firm promises that some of the Afghans, who had not presented themselves, should also come and give promises and assurances so that, getting assurances from all sections and sects (firqas) of the Afghans, they could march towards Kabul.

Meanwhile Mubariz Khan, Wali Beg Khan Kaulabi and Khwaja Kamal Turani, who had spent large part of their

lives in the service of the Emperor, went to Shujaet Khan and filling the ears of the Khan with apprehension, persuaded him "to stay with the army here is unadvisable. It would, therefore, be better that we should march quickly to Kabul." As the Khan (fol. 67a) was not aware of their worthlessness, he forthwith started for Kabul. Though the Maharaja advised him not to do so but he did not pay any heed to (it)." The Khan, marching (towards Kabul) encamped near the bank of a rivulet, which was situated there.

Next morning the Khan, accompanied by some *mansabdars* and young musketeers, went on a hunting expedition, reached the top of the pass (katal) and stayed there. It was agreed that the next morning the camp (Urdu) and war equipments should be called there. The Maharaja, who was fully aware of the mischief of the Afghans and, knowing fully well that the mischief-mongers, would create trouble, thought that, "the Khan, unwisely, has reached the pass. It is possible that these beasts may treat the Khan in a different manner i.e. with hostility. I will not only earn a bad name before His Majesty, but would become the target of high and low (khas-o-am). So I should also march on and encamp near the army of the Khan."

It being a winter night, it rained heavily accompanied by lighting, thunder and storm. On account of it most of the soldiers of the imperial army were greatly inconvenient and due to intense cold and humidity life became miserable. Suddenly, taking advantage of the situation, a large number of Afghans attacked from all sides, occupied the top of the pass and precipitated the crisis by blocking the path (rah) (fol. 67b). As the night was dark everybody was much perturbed for his own safety. They could neither go forward nor backward. The Khan, in the pride of his valour, decided to give battle and opened fire and shot arrows. The Afghans also showered stones, arrows and maskets. But whatever the soldiers of the imperial army did, it produced no effect on the Afghans but whatever those ill-natured people did, inflicted heavy damage (upon the imperial army). The result

was that most of the soliders, in great fear and distress retreated towards their base. Shujaet Khan, considering it unwise to go any further, turned back and fighting his way through, took shelter behind a rock. From there he rained arrows and musket-fire upon the enemy. But due to intense cold and heavy rain, large number of soldiers were killed and those, who remained alive, had no strength (to move), and unable to cut their way through, they spent the whole night in great suffering. As the morning dawned, the wretched Afghans attacked (the imperial army) from all sides again The imperial soldiers, coming out of their trenches (morchals) and bunkers, engaged the enemy and fought courageously and bravely. Anyhow, the Khan's strategy failed (fol. 68a). He himself was forced to join the other officers and soldiers in the battle and two (more) of them died there. Meanwhile all the Afghans gathered and besieged his camp (lashkar) there.

At night when the news (of the Khan's siege) reached Maharaja Jaswant Singh, he sent Bachraj and Raghunath Bakhshi, who belonged to his personal force with artillery (tope-khana) for the Khan's rescue. The Rajput contingent reached the top of the hill. The contingent of the *Bakhshis*, consisting of 300 (three hundred) horsemen (sawars) were sent from the other side while he himself, with a force of 200 (two hundred) horsemen (sawars) and artillery stayed on (this side). From both sides they converged and attacked the Afghans from their respective positions. The Rajputs showered arrows and musket-balls on the Afghans and the Bakhshis bombarded them heavily. Thus a large number of the Afghans were killed and quite a large number, getting wounded, also died. In short, the Afghans, who had encircled the imperial army and cut off all its approaches, could not bear the might and intensity of the onslaught and were routed. Thus communication was restored and many thousand soldiers were rescued from the trap and they rejoined their detachments.

After a few hours (saats) the scattered Afghans regrouped

again and attacked Bachraj and Raghunath Bakhshi (fol. 68b). The Rajputs, getting desparate and dismayed with their traditionally bravery, counters attacked the Satanic-band (of the Afghans) with light armour and succeeded in scattering them again. Using the spears (barchis), Rajshahi Jamdhar, daggers, *Sarohi swords*, *Guptis*, *Kataris*, they fought the battle in the customary Rajput tradition and shed the blood of the Afghans, who, finding the battle going against them, willy-nilly escaped by hiding themselves in ravines. The Rajputs chased them and remained there till the night. In the early morning the Rajputs went into their ravines and, using light-arms, killed a large number of them, though a small body (of the Afghans) managed to escape. Three hundred Rajputs laid down their lives there and the Bakhshis, accompanied by two hundred Rajputs, returned to the Maharaja.[9]

The details of the engagement were despatched by the news (waqai) to the Emperor who himself assumed the responsibility for the administration of the *darul-mulk*, *Kabul* (fol. 69a).[10]

In the 16th R.Y. of his accession, dated 16th Muharam-ul-Haram, the Emperor, accompanied by a large force and a considerable park of artillery, started for the *darul-mulk*, Kabul.[11]

By forced marches, the Emperor reached the dar-ul-sultanat, Lahore and encamped there for twenty days to give rest, arrange equipment and to raise soldiers. Thereafter, the lofty standard moved towards Rawalpindi. Meanwhile the pillar of the state (Ruknus Sultanat) Maharaja Jaswant Singh came from the post (thana) Jamrud and paid his respects to the Emperor, who conferred upon the Maharaja a special robe (*khilat-i-khasa*) with an elephant worth Rs. 20,000/-, sword with studded hilt and seven trays (*khwar*) of fruits.[12] Thereafter, Prince Muhammad Akbar, under the guidance of Asad Khan and Maharaja Jaswant Singh, who was appointed to the vanguard of the imperial army, was

ordered to march to the *darul-mulk*, Kabul.

The Emperor himself crossed the river at Attack at the ford Dandan-e-Reshi and then he went to pray at the tombs (Dargah) of Baba Hasan Abdal.[13] The imperial party took the route of eighteen thousand trees (Hazar Darakht). But during the journey the Emperor had to halt four times (on the way) due to excessive rains.

On the 10th Rabi-ul-Awwal, the Emperor entered the holy ground of Baba Hasan Abdal. A group of mischief-mongers attacked the imperial servants (**fol. 69b**) and created disturbance there. Therefore, the victorious army was despatched to suppress them fully.

On the 15th Muharram-ul-Haram, the Prince (Muhammad Akbar) crossed the river at Attack and encamped for a few days there to await the arrival of Shahamat Khan, Ghairat Khan, Izad Khan Tajuri, Nusrat Khan, Shair Muhammad Kaulabi, Dilir Khan, Himmat Khan, sons of late Bahadur Khan, Kamaluddin, Kanwar Kishan Singh and other imperial servants, who were appointed with him, and others from Peshawar and other places (came and joined him). Thereafter, the Prince, marching from one stage to other, accompanied by a strong and well-equipped column, entered Kabul.[14]

The news of the entrance of great army into the territory of Kabul, was received by the rulers of Iran and Turan and they despatched their ambassadors, well-versed in language, with presents and gifts in consideration of friendship and unity there. All of them appeared at the court of the Emperor, who honoured them by conferring robes (khilats) upon them, cash inam and allowed them to go back to their respective kingdoms (**fol. 70a**).

About the same time Prince Muhammad Akbar, stabilised the administration (band-o-bast) of that land (Kabul) and returning by the same route, appeared in the presence of His Majesty.

The victorious army, which had been sent to suppress the outbreak of *Ghoris*, *Khaili*, *Ghilzzi*, *Satrami* and *Yusufzai* tribes, the centre of disturbance and rebellion, were chastised and expelled from their habitations. The seat of the *satrami* chief (sardar), situated at Bazarak, was raided and a strong post (thana) was established there. The Daudzai, the Turahi and the Tarakzai sued for pardon which was granted to them. The Emperor, pardoning their misdeeds, enrolled them among the imperial servants, distributed gifts, presents (among them) and increased their *mansabs* according to their status. The brave soldiers of the kingdom, who had exerted and distinguished themselves in the expedition, were also the recipients of His Majesty's kindness through the increase of mansabs and posts.[15]

During the same period Qazi-ul-Quzat Abdul Wahab, who, owing to old age, had lost his balance of mind, was given permission to return to the capital, (Shahjahanabad) and he started for his destination.[16] Therefore, Shaikh-ul-Islam, elder son of the Qazi, who held the post (*niabat*), was summoned to the Court. An order (hukm) was issued that Sayied Ali Akbar, the Qazi of the (darul-Sultanat), Lahore, should reach in the presence of the Emperor to take charge of office till the arrival of Shaikh-ul-Islam. According to the imperial order (hasbul hukm), the seal of the *qazi* was given to Shaikh Abdul Amin Thatathavi (fol. 70b), who was the munshi (amin) of the royal Court. (He was asked) to look after the management of the royal Court and impress the seal on the cases referred to him

On the 19th Ramzan-ul-Mubarak, Qazi Abdul Wahab died in the capital, Shahjahanabad. Thus an order was sent that "Shaikh-ul-Islam, with all speed, should present himself in the Court." And two (more) orders (farmans) were issued, one summoning the Shaikh (to the presence of the Emperor) and second in the name of chief judge *(Sadru-s-Sudur)*, *Rizvi Khan Hadi that the said Shaikh should be despatched* with all imperial honours to the imperial camp (Urdu-i-Mualla).

The Emperor remained encamped at the pass of Baba Hasan Abdal for two years. (Thereafter) the Emperor, considering the chastisement of the barbaric Afghans beyond the self respect of a great king, thought of entrusting this task to one of the imperial servants. Therefore he chose Prince Shah Alam Bahadur, ignoring his unworthy conduct, reprehensible ways and reproachful behaviour, gave the command (sardari) of the *darul-mulk*, Kabul and its administration to him and conferred a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon him a full ruby, a studded rarity (nadri) and a studded-dagger (**fol. 71a**). In the beginning of the Ziqada, the 18th R.Y., the Emperor started for the *darul-khilafat*, Shahjahanabad.[17]

Jubiliant Return of the Emperor and His Nobles (Amirs) from Baba Hasan Abdal and their Entrance in Darul-Sultanat, Lahore which was transformed into heavan :-

According to the imperial orders, Shaikh-ul-Islam came to that place (Lahore) and paid his respects to the Emperor, who conferred a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon him and appointed him to the post of Qazi of the imperial camp (Urdu-i-Mualla). The Shaikh, who was very much in love with seclusion, did not accept it. (Thereupon) the Emperor said, "After inquiring about your knowledge and condition, I have appointed (you) for the work of the Qazi and being fit for the work of the Qaza, is actually a greater form of worship. But the decision is upto you" (**fol. 71b**). In the end the Shaikh, in consideration of the kindnesses of the Emperor, accepted the post (of the Qaza).

The Emperor encamped in *Bagh-i-Shalimar* for seventeen days. Then he bestowing his shadow of kindness upon the forehead of the inhabitants of the city of Sarhind went for two days' encampment in *Bagh-i-Naulakh*.[18] Thereafter, he started for the *darul-sultanat*, Lahore.

In the month of Zil Hij, an hour chosen by the expert astrologers, the Emperor entered the *darul-khilafat*, Shah-

jahanabad. The shop-keepers and stall-owners decorated their shops on their own, which were situated on both sides of the road. Different colours were used in the decoration of shops, stalls and bazars. The arches of the shops were decorated with various kinds of cloth i.e. *Badla*, *Kamkhab* and *Neelak* etc. Various kinds of fruits, fresh and dry and grains were arranged very nicely (in the shops). In short it was a sight worth seeing.

Meanwhile, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah was appointed the subedar of Bengal in the place of Amir-ul-Umara (Shaista Khan) who, after relinquishing his post, came out and paid his respects to the Emperor **(fol. 72a)**. He presented fifty elephants, one thousand gold coins, five thousand rupees and other unique commodities of Bengal as *nazar*, which were accepted by the Emperor. Raja Ram Singh also came from Asham (Assam) and paid his respects to the Emperor. He was appointed to Kabul.

Prince Muhammad Sultan, who was brought up under the personal care of the Emperor and had been assigned the duty to sign the imperial orders (farmans) and the orders in grant (navishtajats) of jagirs, fell ill. For four days, he suffered intensely and all remedies proved useless. As he was about to die the matter was reported to the Emperor, who visited the dying son to see him breathing his last and wept like an affectionate father. The Prince said, "I am invited in other world" **(fol. 72b)**. The Emperor stayed for a quarter *(pahar)* near the bed-side of the Prince and consoled him and gave a large sum of money, which was distributed to the orphans and the poor. After one pass the Emperor returned.

Next day, the Prince (Sultan) died According to the Emperor's orders, Asad Khan and other big nobles (amirs) accompanied his coffin and performed his last burial rites.[19]

................[20]

'Mir Khan's return to Imperial Favour'

In the preceding pages it was mentioned that, "Mir Khan, who was found guilty of objectionable conduct, was ordered to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and on the petition (arz-dasht) of ... Asad Khan was ordered to stay at Ahmedabad." At this time... Asad Khan and other great nobles (amirs) submitted another petition (arz-dasht) requesting His Majesty, "to forgive his (Mir Khan's) fault." Thus the Emperor, an embodiment of kindness, restored to him the former mansab, titles and appointed him to suppress the sedition launched by Narsing Gaur and Gharibdas Hada at Ajmer[21] (fol. 73a). Before the Khan could lead his forces to suppress their sedition, in that district (zila), Gaj Singh, brother of Narsing Gaur, who had enmity with him, conspired with his (Narsing Gaur's) cook. The cook mixed poison in the food of Narsing Gaur and he died. Gharibdas also died the same way. The Khan administered the district (zila) very well and cleared it of all sedition. Later he forwarded a statement to the Emperor containing above facts, who appointed him at Kabul and the Khan left for his destination.

'Death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh'

After some time the news of the unfortunate occurrence of Maharaja Jaswant Singh's death in Jamrud reached the Emperor. So he summoned Durgadas Rathor and other leading Rajput Chiefs (sardars) with his family dependents and the possession of the (late) Maharaja to the imperial Court. They obeyed the royal command and proceeded to the Court.[22]

The Emperor started for the Darul Khair, Ajmer. Sujan Singh Rathor, who was one of the prominent and distinguished servants of the (late) Maharaja, paid his respects to the Emperor, who created him the *mansabdar* of 300/500 zat and *sawars*.[23]

In the month of *Ramzan-ul-Mubarak*, the Emperor arrived at Ajmer.[24] At the same time information reached

the ear of the Emperor that, "the followers of the (late) Maharaja have reached the precincts of Lahore and his two wives, who were pregnant have given birth to a son each (fol. 73b).[25] The Emperor spent a few days in Ajmer and enjoyed himself in pleasant pastimes such as hunting and sight seeing etc.

The Emperor sent the pillar of state (Ruknu-s-Sultanat) Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, Hasan Ali Khan and other distinguished nobles (amirs) and soldiers for the conquest of Jodhpur and suppression and chastisement of Dhiraj and some other Rajputs who had created disturbance and unrest there and then he proceeded on his return journey to Akbarabad.[26] During the first stage of the journey, the Emperor appointing Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan the subedar of *Mustaqurr-ur-Khilafat*, Akbarabad and gave him permission to leave.[27] After 20 (twenty) days journey the Emperor entered the capital.

'Imposition of the Jiziah'

The theologians, the jurists and the learned bearing in mind the religious feelings of the Emperor made a submission that according to the Shariat the *Jiziah* should be collected from infidel (*Zimmis*). The Emperor, recognisiug it as one of the incumbent and necessary duties, appointed Inayat-Ullah Khan to supervise the collection of the *Jiziah*. He also ordered that the servants of the state should be exempted from it. Excluding them, it was to be collected from all the '*Zimmis*,' according to the strict rules of the *Shariat*, on the basis, a rich man, who owned property worth Rs. 2,500 (two thousand and five hundred), be asked to pay an amount of 48 (forty eight) *Darhams* equal to thirteen rupees ; a middle-class man (fol. 74a) owning large property worth (more than Rs. 250/-) (two hundred and fifty), twenty-four *Darhams* equal to six and a half rupees and a poor man, who owned property worth (more than Rs. 52/- (fifty two) and was able to support himself, his women and children be asked to pay twelve *Darhams*, equivalent to three rupees and four *annas*. (The *Jiziah*) was not to be charged from the blind, the lame and the indigent.

In short, in accordance with imperial orders, Inayat-Ullah Khan appointed clerks (mutasaddis) in all parts of the empire so that after reaching their destinations, they be engaged themselves in its collection.[28]

'The arrival of Durgadas with the family of the (late) Maharaja from Kabul' :-

Durgadas Rathor, with all the soldiers and property of the late Maharaja, reached the capital and stayed in the mansion (*haveli*) of the late Maharaja, situated at Jaswantpur.[29] As the Emperor was well-acquainted with the bravery and courage of the servants of the late Maharaja, he ordered posting of the troops on all four sides so that they may not come out from there. In short, because of the death of the Maharaja all the Rajputs of Marwar, from house to house were seething with the pride of Sardari and were showing restlessness and readiness to create trouble. Therefore, for the better management of the affairs of that region the Emperor conferred on Inder Singh, the nephew of the deceased Maharaja, the title of Raja and gave him the *tika* of the leadership of Marwar so that none among the Rajputs be dared rise his head in disobedience[30] (fol. 74b).

Having suppressed and brought under subjugation the *Dhiraj* and the *Dharji* Rajput clans, Bahadur Kokaltash, accompanied by Khwaja Farast,[31] the Khwaja Sara of the late Maharaja, Udai Singh Champawat, Mukand Singh Jodha, Jagannath (mutasaddi) and other servants of the late Maharaja, came to the court and without the prior permission of the *Diwan*, they appeared in the *ghusal khana* and paid their respects to the Emperor. They interceded on their behalf and requested that Jodhpur be granted to the sons of the Maharaja, but the proposal was not accepted by the Emperor, who resenting it and removed the Khan from his mansab, confiscated all the animals and property and removed the relations of the Maharaja from his *haveli* and placed them under surveillance in the *haveli* of Raja Rai Singh.[32]

While it was being done, Khwaja Farasat, Champawat

and others managed to escape to Marwar. Durgadas was asked to hand over the sons of the late Maharaja to the charge of the servants of the palace (Mahal) so that proper education could be given to them. When they would come of age, they would receive the favours of the Emperor.[33] Thereafter, Durgadas,[34] Raghu Nath Bhati and Ranchod Jodha,[35] who were the leading and important chiefs (sardars) (of the late Maharaja), got together and conferred among themselves (fol. 75a) that, "The Emperor, who seems to be in a furious and angry mood, has demanded the surrender of the children. God alone knows what he has in mind regarding these youngsters." So, Raghu Nath Bhati and Ranchod Jodha decided not to surrender the children to the Emperor. They said to Durgadas, "Take the children and the family of the Maharaja with you and leave for Marwar. We shall ignite the fire of conflict and trouble and shall not allow any one for a while to go ahead." Concurring with this proposal, they submitted to the Emperor that, "the children are too young to be separated from their mothers, and so when they come of age they would pay their respects to His Majesty." Infuriated at this disobedience of order, the Emperor summoned Hamid Khan,[36] Hameed Khan,[37] Faulad Khan and other nobles (amirs) and ordered them to march with the artillery (tope-khana) to kill the wicked men. Accordingly, the imperial servants marched to the mansion (*haveli*) of Raja Rai Singh and they encircled the rebellious group, together with the dependents of the Raja. From both sides, there was an exchange of musket fire and the conflict became hot. At a time, when the Rajputs were very hard pressed, Raghu Nath Bhati said to Durgadas, "The imperial forces are larger in number than ours and there is every likelihood of further reinforcements (fol. 75b), so it is better that you, with the family of the Maharaja, try to escape to Marwar and we shall continue fighting." Durgadas, disguising the family of the late Maharaja in male attire and arming them fully, put them on horses. (According to the plan), Raghu Nath Bhati, with 100 (one hundred) horsemen (sawars) went out of the mansion (*haveli*) and attacked the imperial troops. While the two sides were fighting,

Durgadas, availing the opportunity, escaped towards Mewar. Raghu Nath Bhati kept the imperial forces busy for four *gharis*. In the end, he and his seventy Rajput horsemen (sawars) were cut to pieces. Thereafter, Hamid Khan and Hameed Khan set out in pursuit of the escaped Rathors. When they had gone four or five *karohs*, Ranchod Jodha, separating along with hundred Rajputs from Durgadas, faced the imperial army and kept it engaged for three or four hours (saat). He died with his sixty fellows. The Khans like the hawk set out in pursuit of the fugitive Rathors when they were two or three *karohs* from them, Durgadas sent forward the family of the Maharaja with forty men and with fifty Rajputs turned round and joined conflict with the victorious troops and kept fighting for two or three hours (saat). He received a head injury and somehow managed to escape with seven men towards Jodhpur. It was already evening and soon the night set in (fol. 76a). The Khans returned to the capital. Durgadas, after travelling two or three *karohs*, joined the family of the late Maharaja and escaped towards Marwar.[38]

After this occurrence, Prince Muhammad Akbar and Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Sar Buland Khan with an adequate army were sent to pursue the fugitive Rathors. The Emperor ordered that the relative of the late Maharaja, when found should be captured alive, but Durgadas and his followers should be expelled from their homeland and their houses be burnt down and utlimately they should be put to sword. But even before the exalted prince and the illustrious Khan could enter Jodhpur that the Emperor himself decided to leave for Ajmer for managing the administration of that region. And from a sense of generosity and foregiveness he pardoned the crimes of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, restored his former title and mansab and re-admitted him to the ranks of imperial attendants. At an auspicious hour, the Emperor entered Darul Khair, Ajmer and encamped in *Bagh-i-Farah Bakhsh*.

(fol. 76b) At that very time, Narsingh Das Bhandwat

and Ram Singh Ramawat, the confidants and supporters of Rana Raj Singh, reached the capital with a petition (arz-dasht) of submission and a valuable tribute (*peshkash*), and paid respects to the Emperor.[39] Meanwhile, Umdat-ul-Mulk Muhammad Amin Khan, after a march of twenty days, arrived from Gujarat with a big force (lashkar). On his arrival he kissed the exalted feet of the Emperor.

As the suppression of Durgadas and other Rathors was the highest concern of His Majesty, therefore, orders were issued to the chief (darogha) *Harkaras* to send *Harkaras* as spies to bring the news of the whereabouts of that rebellious group. The *Harkaras* reported to the Emperor that the Rathors had gathered in the pass adjacent to village (mauza) Daulai, which was situated in the territory of Rana Raj Singh, close to the pass (ghati) of Deve Suri.[40] Accordingly, Prince Muhammad Akbar, Badshah Quli Khan commonly known as Tahawur Khan,[41] Shujaet Khan entitled Khan-i-Alam, Muhtashim Khan, Mamoor Khan, Muhammad Naeem Khan, *Bakshi-i-Sarkar*, Prince Kam Bakhsh[42] and other nobles (amirs) were appointed to suppress and chastise the Rathors. The Emperor ordered Prince Muhammad Akbar to proceed with his large army and encamped at the pass of Deve Suri to prevent the army of Rana Raj Singh from coming to the assistance of the rebels (fol. 77a). And Tahawur Khan, with his numerous troops was asked to enter the pass and ransack the village (mauza) Daulai and destory the Rathors, who had gathered in that region. Accordingly, the Prince (Akbar) reached the pass (*ghati*) and encamped there.[43]

According to the instructions of the Emperor, Tahawur Khan, with a strong force, entered the valley (at night). He ordered the Bakhshi of the army to make such arrangements that none of the rebels could effect escape. In short, after the day had advanced five *gharis*, he reached the village (mauza), which was almost deserted on account of the news of the approaching army. When they asked about the Rathors, some of the riyat engaged in cultivation, unwillingly disclosed that on the previous day the Sisodias and the

Rathors had held a meeting and after mutual consultation both the parties had entered the big pass of Deve Suri at night. They further added that they had no idea of their whereabouts. On being so informed Tahawur Khan thought that the rebels might not appear today, so he should go to the village (mauza) Daulai, which was situated at a distance of three *karohs* and after plundering it, should return there."

As Qarawal Khan reached the precincts of the mentioned village (mauza) before Tahawur Khan, he spotted the army (fol. 77b) of the Rajputs, encamping at a distance of two *karohs* from him. Qarawal Khan, seeing the enemy, did not march further. He sent word to Tahawur Khan saying: "They (the Rajputs) have taken refuge on the other side of the hill. Their exact strength could neither be guessed." But just at that time some *Akadi* bow men and musketeer's taking courage and having captured some men and animals from the aforesaid village, returned to the Prince's camp, whereas others flew from the fire of the enemy. In the end Qarawal Khan was much perplexed at the reduced number of his followers. Meanwhile Tahawur Khan, on receiving the message, sent word to (Qarawal Khan) that, "you should not lose courage. I myself would be joining you soon." But Qarawal Khan could not remain steady. He did not stay there and went back to Tahawur Khan and gave him the news about the enemy. "Be patient, the grace of the king is with us. In the very first attack, we shall put to sword all the rebels like a flock of sheep," this is how Tahawur Khan infused new courage in Qarawal Khan. The result was that the latter (Qarawal) immediately turned his reins and rushed towards the enemy. Hardly had Qarawal Khan covered two or three *kos*, when Tahawur Khan, addressing the soldiers said, "Friends, the tussle with the Rajputs is a matter of life and death for us. Those of you, who care more for life, should better turn their horses back and go away." Thereafter, he read the '*Fataha*' and spurred his horse (fol. 78a). When Qarawal Khan reached near village (mauza) Daulai, the archers, matchlockmen and *Ahadis*, who formed the front

line, could not bear the brunt (of the Rajput) attack. But Qarawal Khan himself, with 400 (four hundred) horsemen (sawars) stood the ground. During the fight, he was wounded very severely. A fierce battle ensued. Most of the Rajputs were slain. On the side of the Khan, 400 (four hundred) men died fighting heroically. The rest of the Rajputs dared not stand the ground and took to flight. Victorious Tahawur Khan, with the imperial forces, returned to the camp of Prince Muhammad Akbar.

FOOT NOTES

1. Ishwardas deals only with the Afridi rising of 1672. He does not give the details of steps taken by Muhammad Amin Khan who sent strong force against the Shipa Sept near Shahbazgarhi and Bijaur tribes. Under the command of Mir Khan the villages near Shahbazgarhi were plundered, 6,000 heads of cattle were lifted and the commander-in-chief of the enemy was chased by his son Mir Khan who was summoned to the Court but Shamsher remained there. *A.N. 1046, 1058-1060* ; *Akhbarat, year 10, Sheet, 3,4,5,6,7.*

2. The provocation given to the Afghans, is also given by Manucci. *Storia, II. 199.*

3. "He was Aimal." K.K. II, 232.
   Shah Nawaz Khan also mentions Aimal. *M.U.I. 281.* Akhbarat has Aiman which is evidently a copyists error. The name is spelt by Biddulph as Acmal Khan. *Afghan Poetry in the 17th Century.*

4. "The Afghans were coming down from the lofty peak of Tarta, 3,400 feet overhead. For the passes of the Afghan frontier, Markhan's paper in proceedings *of Royal George. Soc. Jan. 1879,* pp. *38-62.*

5. The booty taken was enormous, as Muhammad Amin Khan had inherited the fabulous wealth of Mir Jumla. "Forty thousand Mughals were cut to pieces. Their wives and daughters were made the prisoners of the Afghans. And hordes of horses, camels and elephants were taken." *Caubul, 19b*; *Storia, II, 199-201.*

6. "The subedar was Fidai Khan." *M.A. 118.*

7. Mahabat Khan's letter to Aurangzeb. India Office Library, London, M.S. 2678.

8. The Maharaja was appointed the thanadar of Jamrud, (Afghanistan). *MA. 68*; *M.U. II, 67-68.*

9. Ishwardas gives the best account. Saqi's account is very meagre. *M.A. 131.* See also K.K.II, 232-33 & Manucci; II, 199-201.

10. "Mahabat Khan was removed from his post on suspicions of having carried the destruction of Shujaet Khan. On learning of this false accusation, Mahabat Khan wrote a letter to the Emperor. In it, he defends his own character and that of Jaswant Singh, calls Shujaet Khan *paji*, and taxes—the Emperor with cherishing baised favourites". *I.O.L.M.S. 2678.*

11. "The Emperor decided to go in person and, started on the 11th Muharram-ul-Haram, A.H., 1084 (7th April, 1674), *M.A. 131.*

12. Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the thanadar of Jamrud had audience with the Emperor at Rawalpindi. *M.A. 133.* (12th June, 1674).

13. Hasan Abdal is situated between Rawalpindi and Peshawar. *Ibid, 133.*

14. "Prince Akbar followed the Kohat road. The Emperor renamed Sufed Khak as Mughalabad. *Ibid. 136, 145.* Aurangzeb says in one of his letters that the Prince should march by way of Sufed Khak, which as we know from Kalimat, was the Karapa route. *Kalimat. 41.*
15. For later period see : *M.A. 131, 133-136; Akhbarat, 17-20.*
16. "Qazi-ul-Quzat Abdul Wahab having fallen ill, started for Shahjahanabad." *M.* A. *143.*
17. Manucci and Khushal Khan state that "the Emperor returned with failure." For the later developments see *M.A. 144-145*; K.K. II, 237, 246. *Akhb. 17-20.*
18. Verses (ابیات) have been left out. See, *fol. 71b.*
19. "Prince Sultan was taken ill seriously. For a short time he remained weak and confined to bed. On Sunday, the 7th Shawwal A.H. 1087 (3rd. December, 1676), the Emperor at the imperial hunting-lodge of Malar learnt of his death. In spite of his fortitude, he wept to hear it. Ruhullah Khan, Khan-i-Saman, Siadat Khan, Abdur Rahim Khan, Shaikh Nizam and Mulla Muhammad Yaqub were ordered to bury him near the tomb of Khwaja Qutbuddin and to get the whole Quran recited and alms be distributed for the peace of his soul. The Prince, born in A.H. 1049 (1639), lived 38 years 10 months. *M.A. 159-160.*
20. Verses have been left. See *fol. 72a.*
21. "He has fallen under royal displeasure. On the suspension of having encouraged Prince Azam in disloyal ambition. But the cloud blew over and he was reinstated and created Amir Khan. (January, 1675). *Ibid. 82, 113 and 146, M.U.I, 277-86.*
22. "News come from Peshawar that Maharaja Jaswant Singh died on 6th Zil, Q. A.H. 1089 *M.A. 171.*

    (Tues. the 10th Dec. 1678 A D) "Jaswant Singh died at Jamrud in Dec. 1678, he left no issue." K.K.II, 259. "When Maharaja Jaswant Singh died in (Dec. 1678), he left no son. At the time of his death, he was also heavily in debt to the Imperial Treasury." *Mirat, I, 277.*
23. Sujan Singh, the son of Kehri Singh, had been the faujdar at Pattan and later of Mau. After receiving the hasbul hukm from the Emperor, he left the services of the Maharaja and joined the imperial service. He held the mansab of 800/300 zat and sawars. *Hukumat Bahi*, 327.
24. "On Wed. Ist Shawwal, A H. 1098 (6th Nov. 1678), the festival of Id-ul-Fitr occurred." *M.A. 172.* It means the Maharaja died a month after *Id-ul-Fitr.*
25. Aurangzeb learnt (on 26th Feb. 1679) that two of Jaswant's widows had given birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore. *M.A. 172.* (The news of the birth of the two sons reached the court a week later).

26. "On Friday, (the 7th Feb., 1679) 6th Muharam, A.H. 1089. Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was sent with Hasan Ali Khan and other high nobles to take possession of the country of the deceased (Maha) Raja. *Ibid. 173.*

27. Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan was appointed the subedar of Agra on Sunday, 16th June, 1678. *Ibid. 168.*

28. "As all the aims of the religious Emperor were directed to the spreading of the law of Islam and the overthrow of the practices of the infidels, he issued orders to the high *dewani* officers that from Wednesday (the 2nd April 1679) Ist Rabi, I, in obedience of the *Quranic* injunctions" till they pay ,communication money (*Jiziah*) with the hands in humility" and in agreement with the colonial traditions, *Jiziah* should be collected from the (Zimmis) infidels of the Capital and the Provinces. Many of the honest scholars of the time were appointed to discharge the work of collecting the *Jiziah*. May God actuate him to do that which he loves and is pleased with, and make his future life better than the present." *M.A. 174.* The non-Muslims, who were in the govt. service were exempted from its payment. K.K.II, 258. See also : - Satish Chandra, *Jiziah in the post Aurangzeb period, Indian History Congress, 46.*

29. "The familly of the late Maharaja came from the (province) of Kabul and stayed in the mansion of Rup Singh Rathor." *M.A. 177.*

30. "On Monday (the 26th May) 25th Rabi, II, Inder Singh, son of Rao Rai Singh, grandson of Amar Singh, was appointed the Raja of Jodhpur in succession to his uncle Maharaja Jaswant Singh, and was given the title of Raja, a special robe, a sword, with jewelled *hilt*, a horse with golden trappings, an elephant, banner, standard, and drum. He presented a tribute (peshkash) of thirty-six lakh of rupees, which was graciously accepted. It formerly was the practice of the Emperors to apply the *tika* with their own hands to the foreheads of the great Rajas, and in this reign Asad Khan had by command put the *tika* on the forehead of Raja Ram Singh. The practice was now forbidden, Salutation (taslims) alone being reckoned to be enough." *Ibid., 176-77; M.U. II, 236; Bhim Sen, II, 76a.*

    There was another claimant still in the person of Anup Singh, the son of Rao Karan, who held the rank of 2,500/2,000 zat and sawars. He offered 45 lakhs of rupees as succession fee but since his relationship to the principal line was remote, his claims were not entertained. Kamwar, 277b; *M.U. II, 289-91; Waqai Ajmer, 107.* For detailed biography of Anup Singh. *Vir Vinod, II, 498-500.*

31. Khwaja Farasat was the Desh Diwan of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Mukan Singh Jodha was also in the service of the late Maharaja and held the Patta worth 36,000. See also G.D. Sharma, op. cit.

32. "The family of the Maharaja, living in the mansion of Rup Singh Rathor, be seized and placed in Nurgarh." *M.A. 178.*

33. "The throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit Singh on conditions of his embracing Islam." Bhim Sen, II, 164.

34. Son of Askaran was at Jamrud when the Maharaja died. He held Jhwar in Patta worth 17,000. See also G D. Sharma, op. cit.

35. Son of Sultan held the Patta of Lavera worth 37,300. *Ibid.*

36. Muhammad Hamid Khan, son of Sayied Murtuza Khan, was sent against the Satnamis. He was later appointed the subedar of Ajmer. Thereafter, he was given the post of the darogha of the Khas Chauki. He guarded the widows of Jaswant Singh. He was sent against the rebels of Sojat and Durjan Singh of Mirtha. He also held the faujdari of Mewat and was made a 3,000 (2,500) by an increment of 500 troops. *M.A. 177.*

    Hameed Khan, son of Daud Khan, was appointed to guard the widows of Jawant Singh. He was later appointed faujdar of Bhojpur. Ibid., 177.

37. He was the son of Ali Begum, who was the daughter of Mirza Shah Rukh. He held various posts during the reign of Aurangzeb. After a long illness, he died on Sat, the 27th December, 1679 A.D. He was a faithful officer, good inwardly and outwardly. *Ibid. 188.*

38. For other versions of the same occurrence see *M.A. 177-78;* K.K. II, 259-60; Bhim Sen, II, 164; *M.U.II, 233*; *Mirat, I, 277; Waqai Ajmer,* & Athar Ali, *Causes of the Rathor Rebellion of 1679. Indian History Congress, 1961.*

39. "The Emperor permitted the agents of Rana Raj Singh to present his letter. He begged that his son Kumar Jai Singh might make his bow to the Emperor and it was granted. Muhammad Naim Khan was ordered to act as his guide. On Tuesday the 1st April 1679 A.D., Inder Singh, son of Rao Rai Singh went to the tent and brought him to the Emperor. At interview the Kumar received a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), a necklace of pearls and emerald, an *arsi jasper*, a jewelled punchi and a female elephant." *M.A. 174.*

40. "The Emperor himself started on Sunday, the 30th Nov. 1680 A.D., to punish the Rana and Prince Akbar, coming from Mirta, had audience at Deograi." Ibid.183.

41. Tahawur Khan, entitled Padshah Quli Khan, after his removal from the *faujdari* of Oudh, was appointed the *faujdar* of Ajmer. Raj Singh Rathor's rebellion was suppressed by him. He was given the title of Padshah Quli Khan. He incited Akbar into rebellion. He held a mansab of 4,000. *M.A. 188; M.U.I, 447-53*; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 101, 164, 165, 182, 228-260.

42. Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, born on the 24th Feb. 1667 10th Ramzan-ul-Mubarak, A.H., 1077 to Rani of Udaipuri was brought up by the Emperor. He memorised the holy Quran, and studied the standardbook more than all his brothers, and acquired a great knowledge of the Turki language and skill in writing various kinds of hand. Saqi Mustaid Khan writes, "How can I embrace with the limits of my writing characteristic of the excellent Prince? On 3rd. Zil Q. 1120/ 3rd Jan. 1709 he died fighting like a Rustam or anAs fandiyar. *M.A. 322*, Satish Chandra op. cit.

43. Akbar was presented with a sarpech of ruby, worth Rs. 40,000 and sent to Udaipur. A force with abundant material and equipment was despatched under Hasan Ali Khan to punish and pursue the Rana and his companions were rewarded before their departure. Shaikh Raziud-Din, the leader of his companions, did good service in this expedition and got the title of the Khan. Ruhullah Khan became Mir Bakhshi, Vice Sar Buland Khan, the deceased but the name of the post was not normally mentioned. Tahawur Khan got the title of Padshah Quli Khan. *M.A., 187-88* & K.K. II, 261-62.

Occurrence VI Comprises

RECEIPT OF THE REPORTS OF THE REBELLION OF RANA RAJ SINGH, THE ERECTION OF THE GATE OF DEHBARI AND THE DEFENCES OF THE FORT OF CHITTOR, THE MARCH OF THE EMPEROR TOWARDS IT AND HIS RETURN AFTER ITS MANAGEMENT (BAND-O-BAST).

The information reached the ears of the Emperor that Rana Raj Singh had withdrawn his loyalty. He had violated the imperial orders by reconstructing the gate *of dehbari* and repairing the fortifications of the fort of Chittor. (Thereupon), the world conquering Emperor (fol. 78b) decided that the exalted flags must be hoisted in that region and that evil-natured rebel be chastised. With that end in view, the Emperor himself started towards Udaipur from Ajmer.[1] The Emperor was encamping at town (qasba) pur[2] that Prince Muhammad Azam[3] arrived from the province (suba) of Bengal and paid his respect to him.

Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, with a force of 7,000 (seven thousand) horsemen (sawars), a good park of artillery and matchlocks, was ordered to raid the country (of the Rana).[4] The Khan had hardly reached the precinct of the latter's territory that the Rana, receiving the news of the advancing imperial army, got frightened. Having no courage to oppose it, he abandoned his family and Chittor, alongwith the property and goods, which he had collected all those years and took refuge in the hills and became untraceable. Hasan Ali Khan in his (Rana's) pursuit traversed passes and hills

and, at last, reached the lofty place where the Rana had taken refuge.

The Emperor, within a short time, reached Udaipur and destroyed the gate of Dehbari, the palaces of Rana and the temples of Udaipur. Apart from it, the trees of his gardens were also destroyed.[6] The Emperor stayed for four days in Udaipur and thereafter, left for Chittor.[7] Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was ordered to go to the assistance of Hasan Ali Khan (fol. 79a) but the latter refused and uttered some undesirable remarks. Accordingly Sidi Miftah, the *Kotwal*, was ordered that "Khan-i-Jahan's camp should be removed at a distance of two *karohs* (from the Emperor's encampment); and that without the audience, he should leave for the Deccan." In short, on the suggestion of Lutfullah Khan a robe (khilat) was bestowed upon the Khan and, according to the earlier orders, he left for the Deccan.[8] The Emperor reached Chittor. From there, the grand army marched in pursuit of the Rana. Getting the news of his hideout with forced marches the imperial army reached there. The Rana, forsaking sleep and food, could not stay at one place. The imperial army searched for him everywhere. In the end, the Rana, on account of his rigorous wanderings in the hills and deserts, breathed his last.[9]

Some of the *Pattawatans* and other distinguished servants (of the late Rana) placed his younger son, Bhim Singh, on the throne and accepted him as their chief (sardar). So, the other Rajputs of the precinct became more rebellious and started disturbance again. It affected the supply of grain to a great extent. The Emperor had had to stay at Chittor for its administration and the chastisement of the (rebellious) Rajputs (fol. 79b).

Bhim Singh because of the constant fear of the imperial army, did not dare stay at one place. With the big strength of his followers, he came out of hills and raided Bad Nagar,

Ahmadnagar and some other villages (mauzas) of the province (suba) of Gujarat. Subsequently one of the servants of the Rana, Dayal Baqqal, went into the province (suba) of Malwa and ransacked the towns (qasbas) of Dhar. Some of the imperial elephants, camels and other animals, together with the animals of the nobles (amirs) and *mansabdars*, were left in that place for grazing. After attacking the care-taker, he carried away with some of the elephants, horses, camels and other animals. Because of the disturbance, created by the Rajputs, communication and trade routes were affected ; so much so that even a bird could not fly over that region. News from different places could not reach the imperial camp. Moreover, no news about Hasan Ali Khan reached the Emperor, which worried him. Though he asked some of the servants of the state to go in the company of Rana Shyam Singh Ranawat to bring the news about him, nobody had the courage to respond. Mir Shahabuddin Khan, son of Abid Khan and Khwaja Kamal, entitled Khanjar Khan, who were known for their courage and bravery, obeyed the imperial orders. Within twenty days, they brought the petition (arz-dasht) of Hasan Ali Khan from the hills of Ramak. The Emperor honoured them by raising their *mansabs* (fol. 80a).[10] In brief time the Emperor, after establishing posts (thanas) in the dominion, returned to the *darul-khair*, Ajmer. After twenty-days journey, the city of Ajmer was hallowed by the presence of the imperial encampment.[11]

As Jai Singh through humble petitions (arz-dashts) had sought the protection and intercession of the exalted Prince Azam Shah, the latter pleaded on his behalf with the Emperor and requested him to pardon his crimes. He ceded to the Khalsa Jue Mandal and Badhnaur as a thanks giving presents (peshkash). He was exalted and honoured with the title of Rana and the tika of Udaipur.[12]

His younger brother, Bhim Singh, paid his respects to the Emperor and was appointed to the *mansab* of four thousand *zat* and three thousand *sawars* (4,000/3,000) with standard (togh), a flag (alam) and was given the privilege of

beating the drums (naqarah).[13]

Receipt of the report by the Emperor, regarding the arrival of Durgadas Rathor in the Camp of Prince Muhammad Akbar and inciting the latter with the impossible idea of rebellion and acquisition of the throne :

From the pass of Deve Suri, information reached the ears of the Emperor that, "Durgadas and other Rathors have conspired with Shujaet Khan and Tahawur Khan, who have exchanged messages also. Durgadas, accompanied by a group of the Rajputs came to the camp of Prince Muhammad Akbar. So the aforesaid Khans and Durgadas have filled his mind with the vain idea of raising a rebellion **(fol. 80b).** That lamp of the house of Khilafat, in spite of the light of wisdom and clear vision at the instigation of those dark-hearted, evil-minded and short-sighted began to nurse evil thoughts, and drawn by the haughtiness of growing youthfulness, strayed from the path of loyalty and obedience and took the road of insurgence and sin, which in fact symbolises misfortune. At such improper turn of the situation Muhammad Naeem Khan, Muhtashim Khan and two or three other *mansabdars*, led by the good fortune, severed their connections with that rebellious group, and left (that place) for the sublime court. Within two or three days they might appear in the presence of the Emperor. But a large number of servants, lured by the promises, made by the rebels, fell into their trap and followed them."[14]

In two days, Muhtashim Khan, Muhammad Naeem Khan and other nobles (amirs) reached (the imperial camp), paid their respects to the Emperor and revealed the details. Under such circumstances the august mind (the Emperor), began to ponder over the unfortunate incident and issued orders (*farmans*) summoning quickly[15]...Shah Alam Bahadur and other noted nobles (amirs). It was ordered that "they should

come with all their soldiers by forced marches (**fol. 81a**) to join the imperial camp."[16]

Meanwhile, information reached that Muhammad Akbar,[17] with evil-designs, accompanied by a contingent of 25,000 Rajput horsemen (sawars) and war-materials, leaving the pass of Deve Suri, was encamping in the precinct of the territory (pargana) of Jaitaran.[18]

Although His Majesty had a small army under him, without paying attention to the above mentioned fact and without caring for the superiority of number with the rebels, filled with courage, came out of Ajmer on the pretext of hunting and sight-seeing.[19] With forced marches, he arrived at the village (mauza) of Begumpur, which was situated nine *karohs* from Ajmer and encamped there. He was under the impression, that, "Muhammad Akbar, after repenting of his past folly, would come to pay his respects to him." But, the Prince appointed Tahawur Khan the commander of his van and became ready to fight. The Emperor had not more than six or seven thousand horsemen (sawars) under him (**fol. 81b**). He began to think that if he cannot find the right course of action, how would his object be gained ? But the fact of the matter was that the Will of God was so designed that the enemy, failing and fettering in his villainy inclined intentions, should wander in the wilderness of destruction. Therefore, he dismounted at a distance of five *karohs* from the royal camp and postponed the battle for the following day. He did not know what would be born of that pregnant night in the coming morrow. In short, the approach of the rebels created consternation in the rank of the imperial officers and in the disposition of the Emperor also.

His Majesty, who possessed a rare power of judgement and wisdom, started thinking about the methods of creating dissension in the rank of rebels. He issued a *farman* in the name of ill-starred, Muhammad Akbar and imprinted his own signature to it. It contained the following message :

"My dear son, my courageous son...well done you deserve praise and congratulation on the wisdom and foresight displayed by you. (You), having the wisdom of 'Aristotle', have been able to entrap the un-cultured and barbarous Rajputs, who could not be easily entrapted but you have succeeded in bringing them upto this place. However, try to keep them together during the night time with all persuasion so that by the morrow, Prince Shah Alam Bahadur, accompanied by great nobles (*amirs*) and a grand army, is able to join me. If God wishes, I shall be able to catch (each of) them and chastise them fully so that they may get the right punishment."

In the evening the *farman* was given to an attendant (*jilaudar*) who was instructed that, "the *farman* must fall into the hands of Muhammad Akbar at a time when he is sitting with all other Rajputs."[20]

It was a sheer accident that the Prince (Shah Alam Bahadur) from the Rajsagar pond (tank), Sayied Hamid Khan and other servants of the state from other districts (zilas) and dependencies (parganas) of Bundi, Barah and different other places, reached near the encampment of the Emperor and paid their respects to him. Addressing Inayat Khan, a close relative of Tahawur Khan,[21] the Emperor remarked : "That coward (Tahawur Khan), who has been unfaithful to the imperial kindness, has escaped from my wrath, which is comparable to 'The wrath of God'. Write to him and call him to my presence so that I may make an example of him for high and low (*khas-o-am*) (fol. 82a) by throwing his sons into disgrace and selling them at the price of dogs."[22]

According to the instructions of the Emperor, Inayat Khan wrote Tahawur Khan, informing him of his crimes, and called him to the court. After receiving the letter, Tahawur Khan got so much frightened that, without obtaining leave of Muhammad Akbar, Durgadas and other Rajputs or even informing them, got up and at the dead of night, accompa-

nied by a few followers, appeared in the *ghusal-khana* of the camp. The Emperor received the news of the Khan's presence there and ordered that, "he must be brought unarmed with his hands tied." As his death was near, he declined to obey the imperial orders. On his refusal, the mace-bearers were ordered to strike him with their maces till he was dead.[13]

After the fall of two quarters (*pahars*) and four *gharis* of the night, the aforesaid attendant (*jilaudar*) reached the encampment of Muhammad Akbar, where he was arrested by the Rajputs. They took him to Durgadas, who was sitting with other distinguished Rajputs. After interrogating him, they got to know the contents of the *farman* and it perplexed them immensely. Immediately they went to the tent of Muhammad Akbar. He was sleeping so the Khwaja Saras told them that it was not possible for anybody to wake him. So they came back (fol. 82b).

Durgadas sent some persons to summon Tahawur Khan. On their return they reported to him that "the Khan, with his small followers, has deserted to the Emperor." Thereupon, Durgadas and other big Rajputs began to discuss the matter with each other. It was concluded that, "the Prince (Muhammad Akbar), under the excuse of taking rest did not come out deliberately and it is also surprising that Tahawur Khan, with his followers also joined the Emperor." From the contents of the *farman* it was thought that there was something fishy about the whole affair. One quarter (*pahar*) of the night was left when Durgadas, with the troops of other Rajputs, managed to escape towards Jodhpur.

In the morning, when Muhammad Akbar got up, the Khwaja Saras reported the matter (to him). So Muhammad Akbar also decided to join the fugitive Rajputs because there was no other way left for him. Leaving behind most of the elephants, horses, camels and other stores (karkhanajats), riding on an elephant and taking fifty horses, twenty

camels, loaded with boxes of pearls, diamonds and treasures, and accompanied by 3,500 old trusted horsemen (sawars), he rushed towards Jodhpur and soon joined Durgadas (there).

When four *gharis* of the day had passed, the news of the flight of Muhammad Akbar reached the ears of the Emperor. Immediately, the drums of success were beaten and the Emperor was congratulated by the servants of the state. Shujaet Khan, ashamed of his past follies, considered his welfare in paying allegiance to the Emperor.[24] After two quarters (pahars) of the day, he came and kissed the imperial threshold and presented elephants, horses, camels and other stores (karkhanajats) (fol. 83a) of Muhammad Akbar with his remaining servants. His Majesty, taking pity, forgave his faults, which had been responsible for such a catastrophe and converted his punishment into imprisonment.[25] Thus, next day the Emperor left the village (mauza) of Begumpur for *darul-khair*, Ajmer.[26]

Prince Muhammad Shah Alam Bahadur, with Ruhullah Khan, Qilij Khan and other distinguished servants of state, was ordered to go in pursuit of Muhammad Akbar. The Prince (Shah Alam) and his companions reached the precinct of Jodhpur.[27] On the arrival of the victorious army Muhammad Akbar and Durgadas deemed their stay in that territory unwise and improper. So Muhammad Akbar left his son, Muhammad Sultan and daughter, Khujista Bano, in the custody of Durgadas, who sent them with his men to the village (mauza) Nath Barlai, which is situated near the hills of Marwar and appointed Harnam Joshi,[28] a Brahman to do the needful and asked him to wait on them by day and night with them and render service to them. Thereafter, Durgadas and Muhammad Akbar took to flight to the country of the Deccan.

The Emperor appointed Prince Muhammad Azim-u-Din,[29] Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan, Raja Bhim Singh and other nobles (amirs) (fol. 83b) to look after the administration of the land of Marwar, while he himself left for southern land.[30]

When His Majesty reached Deogam, which is a dependency (taluqa) of Toda, the terrible news of the death of Nawab Qudsi Ilqab Begum Sahiba (Jahanara Begum), reached the exalted ears and it grieved him very much. He halted for a day.[31] From there he marched via Mukundgarh and when he arrived at the dependency (pargana) of Badh, he ordered Muhammad Ali Khan, the khansama to proceed one stage in advance with the stores (karkhanajats) and other establishments so that the hills of Mukundgarh and other narrow and difficult paths of that hilly region might be easily negotiated. In short, after covering many stages, he reached the city of Burhanpur and encamped there. The Emperor bestowed a robe of honour (khilat-i-fakhra) upon Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, an elephant and ten horses and appointed him to Adil Khani Talkokan, relating to Sambha. Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Fath Jang Khan, Rao Anoop Singh, Anirudh Singh Hada, Kanwar Kishan Singh and other distinguished nobles (amirs) were also asked to accompany him.

The victorious army, coming out of the Konkanighat, ransacked the area ruthlessly. After the news had been reported to the Emperor, he ordered that, "Hasan Ali Khan Behadur should be posted at the river Bhimra and the Prince should come to the imperial camp" (fol 84a). The Emperor himself, with all the paraphernalia of royalty, entered the city of Aurangabad which was transformed into paradise.[32]

During the same period, the victorious troops were repeatedly sent to the country of Bijapur.[33] Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, who had been summoned to the court, arrived in Chakna, which was situated at four *karohs* from Aurangabad.[34] Thereupon orders were issued to Ruhullah Khan, Bahramand Khan and other distinguished nobles (amirs) to go to welcome him. All of them reached Mukundgarh, situated near the hills of Satara, and paid their respects to him. At the same time it so happened that one of the elephants to Fath Jang Khan turned wild and created much confusion. Growing wild, it could not be controlled by the

elephant keeper (mahawat), which scared most of the horsemen (sawars) and the foot-men (piyadas). By chance, the elephant reached near the mount (sawari) of the Prince and he urged his horse to face it (the elephant). As the horse came near the elephant the latter trumpeted (loudly) and, raising its trunk, attacked the horse in a manner that it turned back from fright. The Prince could not hold on to the saddle and fell on the ground. The elephant wanted to lift the Prince with its trunk, but Alburz, a mace-bearer, snatching a spear from the hands of a servant, struck such powerful blow on its forehead that it was vanquished. Meanwhile the *khasa-birdar* and archers began to shower arrows and bullets upon the beast from all sides (**fol. 84b**). Thus rendered helpless, the elephant left the encampment and fled towards the forest. In short, the Almighty, who was protecting the pearl of the Empire, saved him and he received no injury.

The Prince paid his respects to the Emperor. On his safe return, His Majesty distributed one lakh of rupees as *nisar*, and bestowed a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon the Prince along with jewels, worth two lakhs of rupees, ten elephants and fifty horses. The nobles (amirs), who were with the Prince, were also given robes (khilats).[35]

'Rebellion of Ajab Singh near Ajmer'

The Emperor learnt from the report (waqai) of *darul-khair*, Ajmer that "Ajab Singh, brother of Shive Singh, Muhkham Singh Mertia and other Rajput Rathors had rebelled there. Having collected a force of 3,000 (three thousand) cavalry (sawars) and the same number of foot-men (piyadas), they had wandered away from Merta. Thereupon, Itiqad Khan, the *faujdar*, with his troops, faced the rebels, but the mischief-mongers, having no strength to fight, took to their heels. The Khan went in pursuit of the rebels upto the town (*qasba*) of Dedavna, but the rebels disappeared in the hills. He halted at the same place to await the report of crossing the rebels and examining some spot so that he might go there

and chastise them. Meanwhile, he was informed that (fol. 85a) the rebels, taking a different route, had again gone to the town (qasba) of Merta.

Itiqad Khan, with his contingents, marched after them. But the rebels, who had reached there before the arrival of the Khan and his contingent, ransacked a part of the habitation. When they (the rebels) came to know that the Khan with his contingent, had arrived there, they retired into the jungles and took abode in the village (mauza) of Indadar, which was situated at a distance of four and a half *karohs* from Merta. In spite of the fact that the night was darker than the luck of those wretched fellows the Khan, with the grace of His Majesty, kept on pursuing them. He reached the said village (mauza) but the rebels flew from there also. They marched five *karohs* ahead and arrived at the village (mauza) of Jaitran. The Khan also arrived post haste there. The rebels took their stand there and began to fight. The victorious army engaged itself in a deadly conflict. In the thick of battle Ajab Singh, Biharidas, son of Gokaldas, Akhraj, the nephew of Shive Singh, Sanwaldas, brother of Raj Singh, Har Kishan Pancholi and other prominent rebels, were put to sword. Muhkham Singh himself receiving two serious wounds and he escaped from there. After his defeat, others, having no strength to fight, took to their heels. The brave men of the imperial army pursued the fugitives for two or three *karohs* and captured a number of camels laden with numerous goods and other commodities from them (fol. 85b). Thereafter, they returned to the battle field and encamped there, cutting off the heads of the wretched Ajab Singh and other rebellious chiefs (sardars), they sent them to the presence of the Prince (Azam). On the side of rebels 500 (five hundred) persons were killed and on Itiqad Khan's side 300 (three hundred) men were either killed or wounded. Hearing the news of the success of Itiqad Khan, the Emperor honoured him by raising his *mansab* and bestowing other favours upon him.[84]

At this time Mulla Mukhdum, an accomplished stylist, a rhetorician, a poet, an expert in *nastaliq* having passed

the test of understanding the temperament of the Emperor, with the support of luck and help of fate, approved by the different others, was granted the post of chief judge (Sadr-i-Ala) and the duty appended to it viz. that of writing of farmans.[37]

Also the protector of Shara, Shaikh-ul-Islam, the Qazi of the royal camp (Urdu-i-Mualla) in spite of his being related to the world, had inscribed on the page of his heart the sign of freedom also tendered his resignation from his post. But in view of the fact that his integrity and righteousness had been imprinted on the mind of His Majesty, it was ordered that he should work in the court of justice as Amin and dispose of matters and affairs there.

'Prince Muhammad Azam Shah received the title of Walah Shah Alijah'

The Emperor conferred the title of 'Wala Shah Alijah' (**fol. 86a**) upon Prince Muhammad Azam Shah along with other favours, i.e. a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), pearls, diamonds, jewels, ten elephants, fifty horses, ten out of them with golden trappings and other commodities and appointed him for the conquest of the fort of Bijapur and placed a large force under his command.[38] On the request of the Prince, Dilir Khan was given the command of the van of his army and the Emperor gave two lakh rupees to him (Dilir Khan) as special grant (masaida). As a special favour, the Prince was permitted to beat the drums from the entrance of the audience hall (diwan-i-khas-o-am) upto the first stage (of his march).

According to the Emperor's orders, the Prince encamped at the first stage of his journey (which was situated at a distance) of seven *karohs* and sent a letter to Dilir Khan to this effect : "By the grace of God, the long-cherished desire has been fulfilled. Come quickly and join the army (lashkar)." So next day, the Khan came and joined the prince.

At mid-night the Prince, with some selected servants, went into the tent (daira) of the Khan, stayed for four *gharis*.

and revealed the inner most desire of his heart (there). When he was leaving, the Khan submitted to him (the Prince), "I have been greatly honoured by your visit but your coming in this manner was improper because the disposition of the Emperor is delicate. If, by any chance, he comes to know, he might be annoyed and angry" (fol. 86b).

The written reports of the Prince's visit and that of *harkara*, were received by the Emperor at the same time and it made him very angry. Therefore the Emperor removed the Prince from the charge of expedition and summoned back all the nobles (amirs) to his presence. All their stores (karkhanajats) were also confiscated. (Upon this), the Prince resigned his *mansab* and, except old and trustworthy nobles (amirs), he dismissed all of them, halted at the same stage and, thereafter, snapped all outside contacts. It was all reported to the Emperor. Out of paternal affection, he sent pieces of advice through Bakshi-ul-Mulk Ruhullah Khan. He (Ruhullah Khan) reached there and informed the Prince of his mission, but the latter did not call the Khan to his presence. The Khan had no option, but to return to the Emperor and reported the matter. Then the Emperor sent Zebun-Nisa Begum[39] (fol. 87a) with a kind message to give comfort to his troubled-mind. After that he himself started on the pretext of hunting, and arrived at the encampment of the Prince and placed his affectionate hand on his forehead. Thereafter, he conferred a robe of honour (*khilat-i-fakhra*) upon him after that brought him back to the imperial camp. After two or three days, Dilir Khan departed for the next world (died). It was said that on account of the Emperor's wrath, he took camphor and thus committed suicide.[40]

Prince Shah Alam Bahadur thought that, "the miscarriage of the plan of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah would help to promote his case." He requested the Emperor to entrust, "the expedition of Konkan to him." The Emperor accepted his request and as a mark of favour increased his *mansab*, gave him a necklace of pearls, sword with studded handle, five elephants, five Arabi, Iraqi and Turkish horses

and permitted him to go to Konkan. Thereafter, orders were issued to Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur that, "he should come from the river Bhimra and join the army of the Prince."[41]

The Prince, covering various stages, crossed the channel (nahar). Daud Khan and Ran Mast Khan were given the command of the van of the victorious army. With great care and vigilance, the Prince began to move from stage to stage[42] (fol. 87b).

The *harkaras* reported to the Prince that, "the enemy had taken up residence in the fort of Shahpur, which was on the ground and was made of stone." Getting this information, he appointed Izzat Khan, Multafat Khan, Abdullah Khan and Rai Bindraban for the chastisement of the enemy. Accordingly, they reached there and opened its siege. Thus a conflict ensued and for two days there was an exchange of swords, arrows and fire between the rival parties. At last, the guards of the fort (Shahpur) submissively surrendered. Similarly Shant Kanu and two or three other cities of the region, each of which had a strong fort, their turrets and fortifications, well-equipped with artillery and gun powder and protected further by deep moats, were conquered by the victorious warriors. Their commandants were taken prisoners and their property and goods were seized. Therefore the Prince, taking the route of Ramghat pass and with the intention of entering the pass (ghat) of Talkokan, started his march. Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, with his 5,000 (five thousand) horsemen (sawars) was left at the pass of Talkokan so that the supply of grain could be maintained (fol. 88a). The above pass was at some places high and at other low. From a distance of three *karoks*, on its either side were high and lofty mountains interspersed with cluster of varieties of trees so thick as to render visibility difficult. It compelled the Prince to break his journey at four places. At last, bearing all the hardships of the route, the imperial army could get down the pass.

'Battle with Akbar and Sambha'

The Prince had barely covered two stages, when the two adversaries, Muhammad Akbar and Sambha, with a large force offered resistance. A contested battle took place and many were killed on either side. At length, the enemy could not bear the attack of the imperial army and, suffering defeat, retreated into the forts of Raigarh and Rahida. The victorious army followed them. It entered the city of Pancholi and encamped there.

"Pancholi is a big city. The English, the French, the Portuguese and the Dutch are in residence there. They have constructed lofty and high buildings, which resemble with small forts. In the couryards they have planted large and extensive gardens with varieties of fruit trees and flowing channels. In the precincts of the city Muhammad Akbar and Sambha also had constructed very large mansions (havelis). In short, by the side of the city there is a deep and wide canal (nahar) and the Hindus called it Panj Ganga. Every year, a large number of them (Hindus) gather there from all sides for a bath." In short the Prince **(fol. 88b)** demolished the mansions (havelis) of Muhammad Akbar and Sambha and destroyed the gardens and canals also. Marching continuously, he reached the precinct of the Port Kudha,[43] which was situated on the sea-shore, and was in the possession of the Portuguese.[44] Scarcity of food was acute there. For a number of days, there was no trace of food. For this reason, life of many people became extinct.[45] Khariyat Khan and Yaqut Khan, who had come to know about the high prices of the grain, brought some ships full of grain to the camp. At last, every person was satisfied. After this the Prince stayed for some days in that precinct and sounded the drums of success and victory and then returned to the court.[46] But as the suppression of the evil-minded Deccanies and the reduction of those forts had not been accomplished according to the wishes of the Emperor so the imperial camp was pitched in the vicinity of Ahmadanagar.[47] Prince Muhammad Shah Alam Bahadur came there and paid his respects to the Emperor.[48] His Majesty passed a few days in the precinct of Ahmadnagar

and thereafter, resolving upon the conquest of Haiderabad, he left for that place.[49]

'The Conquest of Haiderabad'[50]

Prince Muhammad Azam Shah was appointed commander of the vanguard. Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Aman-Ullah Khan, Raja Anoop Singh and other distinguished nobles (amirs) were ordered to accompany him.[51] He was required to move on stage ahead. The imperial army (**fol. 89a**) had barely marched two or three stages when its news reached the ears of Qutbul-mulk Abul Hasan. He sent Shaikh Minhaj and Mir Ibrahim, two distinguished servants, with a force of 40,000 (forty thousand) horsemen (sawars) to offer resistance. They reached *Malagir*, which was situated at a distance of thirty *karohs* from Haiderabad and they made a halt there.

Shaikh Minhaj stayed behind and sent Mir Ibrahim with a large force ahead. Covering the distance of seven *karohs*, Mir Ibrahim appeared before the imperial army. Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, mounting an elephant, accompanied by his nobles (amirs) faced the Mir. It resulted in a bloodly battle. The afflicted-ones could not bear the attack of the imperial forces and were defeated. The Prince remained encamped there. Within two days, the imperial army also joined him. Thereafter, the Prince marched further onward. The accursed enemy, from right and left opened the prime attacks and harassed the imperial army, but it continued its march by defending itself and fought its way to Malagir. Here Shaikh Minhaj and Mir Ibrahim, with a combined force, faced the victorious army. His Majesty despatched Sayied Abdullah Khan, Dilawar Khan, Kishan Singh Hada to the assistance of the Prince. All of them came and joined him. Then another big battle took place. Sayied Abdullah Khan, from the right and Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur from the left, exerted themselves with vigour and killed a large number of the enemy (**fol. 89b**). The rest, finding it hard, took to flight. Thereafter, His Majesty honoured Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Sayied Abdullah Khan

and other nobles (amirs), who had performed feats of valour in the battle.

As a matter of policy, His Majesty halted there for three months. As the villainous Deccanies openly hovered over the flanks of the Imperial army on every side, the brave warriors of the victorious army, kept on alert in their saddles continuously and chastised them. But in the end owing to the impudence and high-handedness of the short-sighted rebels, the supply of ration was completely stopped and the corn became dear. The prices spiralled and it ultimately led to acute shortage of fodder and water. Men and beasts were greatly affected, causing much hardship (to men and cattle) and many of them lost their lives. In view of the prevailing conditions His Majesty, with all haste, marched traversing two or three *karohs* a day. The crazy lot harassed the imperial army from all sides and it had to be involved in much fighting and killing. In short, when the news of the progress of battle reached Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan, he despatched a force of 2,000 (two thousand) for the help and support of Shaikh Minhaj and Mir Ibrahim and he, strengthening the defences of Haiderabad **(fol. 90a)** with artillery, took up residence in the fort of Golconda, which was situated at a distance of one *karoh* from Haiderabad. There he placed the pieces of artillery and a large stock of gunpowder (in the fort). Addressing Madanna Pandit, the *Wazir*, Sidi Yaqut, the Commandant and other officers, Qutbul-Mulk remarked : "You took due precautions in equipping the fort. Twelve years after you would see its effects." Then, he got (busy) in witnessing dance and music and spent day and night in merry-making.

Shaikh Minhaj and Mir Ibrahim, both getting fresh reinforcements, consolidated their positions against the imperial army, and spared no efforts to attack wherever they got a chance. On account of it, no one could come out of the arena of the imperial camp.

When the Emperor could cover a distance of (only) fifteen *karohs* from Malagir in six months, he realized the

trouble and toleration of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur and Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur. Then both the Khans thought separating Shaikh Minhaj or Mir Ibrahim from of the enemy forces (fol. 90b) and bring either of them in the imperial service so that the campaign might be successfully completed. Therefore, both the Khans unanimously sent a message to Mir Ibrahim, asking him to agree to enter the service of the Emperor and be recipient of honour and high position. With good luck, he accepted the offer. Accordingly with the assistance of good luck and guidance of fortune he refrained from taking part in the battle and he dissuaded his followers also from participation in the conflict. In short, after this affair the imperial army, fighting its way, was able to reach the town (qasba) of Dholipet, which was situated at a distance of eight *karohs* from Haiderabad. There Shaikh Minhaj, who had got an inkling of deviation and treachery of Mir Ibrahim, called the latter to his own house for consultation. There Shaikh Minhaj said: "In spite of such a large army, difficulty of route and the shortage of food grains, the imperial army has managed to reach this place. Though I have done all that I could to stop it, I cannot succeed against the imperial army unless other people help me. How long can I work alone? It seems that the country will go to ruin because of the subversive acts of some disloyal people." Then he arrested the Mir, put fetters on him and sent him to the presence of Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan, acquainting him with all the details. So he (Qutbul-Mulk) also threw the Mir into prison (fol. 91a). A few months passed in this manner. Thereafter, Madanna Pandit, who was the incharge of all the affairs of the state was inclined in favour of the aforesaid Mir, was sincere to the Mir and was in conflict and opposition to Shaikh Minhaj, pleaded with Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan for forgiveness of his (Mir's) crimes, and got him released and placed the latter under a debt of obligation, he being a distinguished grande.

In short, Shaikh Minhaj, after learning about the release of Mir Ibrahim, withdrew himself from opposition to the imperial army because he was not in favour of the Mir's

release. Perturbed and angered, he went back to Haiderabad. There, he appraised Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan of the hostile and double dealings of the aforesaid Mir, his alliance with Madanna Pandit and about their conspiring with each other. Thereafter, Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan began to suspect the intentions of Madanna Pandit. Having come to know of all this, Mir Ibrahim got an opportunity, slipped out of Golconda and joined the imperial forces.[52] Through Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, he gathered the felicity of obtaining the honour of the miracle working service of His Majesty and he became the recipient of favour and generosity and reaped the fortunate rewards of both the worlds. This confirmed Shaikh Minhaj's warning (towards Madanna Pandit). Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan therefore, got Madanna Pandit murdered. At the time of his death, Madanna Pandit said, "Take the warning, unwise person, you are killing me on the provocation of my opponents and without any evidence (of my unfaithfulness). I know that the end of your kingship is at hand. God willing it will not last more than six months and you shall not reign beyond that period (fol. 91b)." In brief, as the administration of the whole state was concentrated in the hands of Madanna Pandit, it was paralysed after his death.[53]

Meanwhile, the imperial forces reached Haiderabad and laid a siege to the city. For one year, there was an exchange of artillery fire between the two forces, killing a large number of men and animals. At last, the victorious warriors (Ghazis) of the imperial army with relentless efforts, became victorious. Plenty of booty in cash and kind also fell into their hands. The praises of houses (*mahals*) and buildings of Haiderabad, which were decorated with gold and silver, reached Prince Muhammad Azam Shah and he went to see them and enjoying with some selected persons. As the unfortunate Deccanies created disturbance and trouble beyond limit, the Prince after staying in that palace for two days, returned to the imperial camp. The siege of Golconda fort than was opened by the orders of the Emperor.[54]

'Siege of the fort of Golconda'

The siege of the fort of Golconda began. From both sides there was an exchange of artillery and missile fire. But, gradually things came to such a pass that not a single person could keep his balance of mind. Everybody lost hope of life. It was not a war but an example of 'The Divine Curse.' Thousands of men and animals were killed. It was precisely at this time that Mir Ibrahim, by the grace of the Emperor, was given the title of Mahabat Khan with the *mansab* of six thousand *zat* and five thousand *sawars* (6,000/5,000) and the *Tankhwai-Jagir* in his former palace (mahal) (fol. 92a). A period of two years had thus gone by but the attainment of the objective was not in sight. The Emperor's energy and patience were not exhausted, though the nobles (amirs) were much perturbed and distressed. They were sceptical about the outcome and the end of the war. In this situation, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, who was an expert planner, pondered over the state of affairs and said to himself, "Why should I not try to win over Sidi Yaqut (the commandant) to His Majesty's side in the same manner in which I had won over Mir Ibrahim ? It will greatly help in the capture of the fort and the commandant of the fort will become a prisoner of fate." So he sent a message to the Sidi, asking him to enter the imperial service and luring him by citing the example of favours, shown to Mir Ibrahim. He accepted it. Gradually, the matter was settled to the extent that he agreed to open the gate of the fort. In the end, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur brought the matter to the notice of the Emperor, who as a matter of favour, promised to give him a *mansab* of six thousand *zat* and five thousand *sawars* (6,000/5,000) and a *jagir* in Haiderabad (fol. 92b). When Sidi Yaqut was fully convinced of his promotion, which was far above his desire, he took upon himself the whole responsibility of handing over the fort. One day, at one *pass* of the night, getting an opportunity, he opened the gate of the fort and reported it to Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur. At once the Khan, coming out of his entrenchment (morchal), which was situated just opposite to the gate (of the fort) and accompanied by some of his trust-

worthy fellows, reached there and entered the fort. When its news reached Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, he at once getting on his horse, accompanied by some selected persons, entered the fort. The Prince entered the fort from the other gate and joined the Khan there. From that place the Prince moved onward.[55]

When the matter was reported to Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan, he said, "No human being can interfere with the power of the glorious God." At that time, he was enjoying the dance. Out of sheer fear, the dancers stopped dancing. Thereupon, Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan said, "Go on dancing as before. Whatever time, I can spend in merry-making, is a great gain (fol. 93a)." Meanwhile, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah and Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur entered the palace of Qutbul-Mulk, pulled him down from the throne, mounted him on a horse and brought him to the presence of His Majesty. Without performing *kurnish* or *taslim*, Qutbul -Mulk Abul Hasan stood there.[56] When the exalted Majesty inquired, "How are you ?" He replied, "This helpless person neither feels happy at good luck nor grieves over misfortune. Whatever comes out from behind the screen of Providence, he is pleased and delighted to see it." The Emperor, later, ordered that a separate tent should be pitched for the lodging of Qutbul-Mulk. After some time seven rupees per day was fixed as his daily allowance, and after he enjoyed the songs of two sweet voiced *naiknis*, he was despatched to the fort of Daulatabad. According to the instructions, the commandant lodged him in the mansion (haveli) and appointed two foot-men (piyadas) to keep watch over him. In short, none in history did obtain such a victory. Its chronogram dates the capture of fort A.H. 1094.[57]

About the same time Sayied Abu Said, the Qazi of the capital, Shahjahanabad, in accordance with the imperial orders arrived at the court and acquired honour by waiting upon the Emperor. As the *Qazi* was able and highly-learned, he was appointed to the post (mansab) of the Qazi of the imperial camp (Qazi-i-Urdu-i-Mualla), and Shaikh-ul-Islam,

getting the permission of the Emperor for the pilgrimage of Mecca, left for his destination.

Thereafter, the Emperor decided to encamp (fol. 93b) at Sholapur so that he may get full information about exit and entrance to that place and Bijapur to enable him to conquer it with all ease. The imperial banners set in motion towards that place. And in a short time, he arrived there and entered into Sholapur as per hour fixed by the astrologers.[58]

At that very time the report of the occurrence of trouble in the town (qasba) of Sironj was submitted to the august Monarch.[59] The details are like this : "Pahad Singh Gaur, the zamindar of the town (qasba) of Indrakhi, a dependency (pargana) of Atawa and Orchh in the region of Bundelkhand, who was the *mansabdar* of 1,500 *zat* and 1,000 sawars (do-aspa) had been appointed the *faujdar* of Shahabad, Dhandhira. Matchless in bravery he was much above his contemporaries. Lal Singh Khehichi had the *faujdari* of the adjacent territory (of Pahad Singh).

By chance Raja Aniurudh Singh Hada, the zamindar of Bundi, who was a *mansabdar* of 3,500/3,000 zat and sawars rode out to Lal Singh to collect the tribute (*peshkash*). Reaching the villages (mauzas) of Lal Singh's territory (taluqa), he (Aniurudh Singh) began to oppress the inhabitants (riaya) of the area severely. Though Lal Singh offered tribute (*peshkash*), according to his resources, he did not accept it and demanded more than his ability to pay. When Lal Singh was driven to narrow streets (fol. 94a) by the high-handedness and oppression of Aniurudh Singh, he saw no way of escape except in soliciting the help of Pahad Singh. Accordingly, he sent him a message of matrimonial alliance and requested him to come to his succour,

Pahad Singh was a Chamar Gaur and was looked down upon by other Rajput clans.[60] Receiving the invitation of matrimonial alliance from Lal Singh, he (Pahad Singh) arrived on the scene with a force of 5,000 horsemen (sawars) and

asked Aniurudh Singh that he should forego the demand of tribute (*peshkash*), which the helpless (Lal Singh) owed to him. But Aniurudh Singh haughtily retorted, "How dare you stop (the collection) of tribute (*peshkash*). Is it not patent that when an ant gets wings it is the sign of its fast approaching death ?" Pahad Singh became very furious and sent him words, "Beware ; I am coming." But Aniurudh Singh, whose mind was bloated because of his affluence replied : "To fight him in person is beneath my dignity. Two or three of my *Patta Watans* are enough for your chastisement," and he despatched some of his selected fellows to deal with him (Pahad Singh).

Meanwhile, Pahad Singh appeared and a severe conflict ensued. At last Pahad Singh, fighting very gallantly repulsed the troops of Aniurudh Singh, and drove them upto (the latter's) camp (fol. 94b). Aniurudh Singh, who was sitting and watching the state of affairs, got and entered the crowd. His turban fell from his head and he had no time to pick it up and took to flight bare-headed. A few friends of Pahad Singh suggested that "the enemy is within our grasp, if you order he may be killed." But Pahad Singh replied that "he has shown his back and to kill him is below the dignity of the brave." In short 500 (five hundred) of Aniurudh Singh's Rajputs were put to sword and his movable possessions, consisting of cash, grain, elephants and horses were also captured. Thus Lal Singh was relieved from the tyranny of Aniurudh Singh. After marrying the daughter of Lal Singh, he returned (home)."[61]

All this was reported to the Emperor, who ordered that the plundered booty of (Aniurudh Singh) should be taken from Pahad Singh and be remitted to him. A *hasbul hukm* was sent to Mughal Khan, the *Nazim* of the province (*suba*) of Ujjain, asking him to call Pahad Singh to his presence and order him to surrender the booty. But owing to bad-luck, Pahad Singh did not obey the imperial orders and leaving the path of obedience, he turned hostile. He stretched the hands of plunder and rapine on the property

of the people (fol. 95a). All this was reported to the Emperor, who sent an order (farman) to Mughal Khan for his chastisement, but by chance he died suddenly.

The province (suba) of Ujjain was astringed, in the absence of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, by Rai Muluk Chand, the *mutasaddi*. Therefore, a *hasbul hukm* was despatched to the Rai for the chastisement of that short-sighted (Pahad Singh). Accordingly, the Rai reached Sironj with an adequate force and arranged his battle-field near the village (mauza) of Udaipur, which was the dependency of the province (suba) of Sironj. As the ill-starred, Pahad Singh, having crossed the river, had arranged his battle field there. Rai Muluk Chand also arrived there from Sironj. A severe battle took place and the excellent bravery of the imperial army surprised him completely. At last, the rebel (Pahad Singh) was slain. Rai Muluk Chand cut off his head and sent it through Muhammad Afghan to the imperial court.[62]

When it was presented before the Emperor, he remarked that, "the sparrow (Rai) has successfully hunted the hawk (Pahad Singh)." The Rai was rewarded for the victory. The Emperor conferred upon him a *mansab* of 500/200 (zat and sawars) and the title of Rai Rayan, a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) (fol. 95b) and an elephant.[63] In short, Rai Rayan passed a few days in Sironj and thereafter he returned to Ujjain.

After the death of Pahad Singh, his son Bhagwant Singh, collected a large force of the villagers (dahqans) and raised the standard of revolt in the region of Gwalior. Sacking most of its dependency (pargana), he harassed the inhabitants, and began to block the road for the imperial army. His tyranny reached to such an extent as to make it impossible for a sparrow to spread its wings, what to speak of man. When this was reported to the Emperor, he (once again) appointed Rai Rayan to chastise the rebel. According to the imperial orders (hasbul hukm) the Rai left Ujjain and arrived at Gwalior. Meanwhile, Ata-ullah Khan, Mirza Khalil, Mirza Gul and other *mansabdars*, who were in the

city of Akbarabad, were also ordered to join the Rai. They all joined him at Gwalior.

Bhagwant Singh, who was creating trouble in the direction of the city of Kalpi, on hearing the news of Rai Rayan's arrival, returned to Gwalior. He halted at the village (mauza) of Dhanjor, which was situated at twelve *karoh's* distance from Gwalior. The moment Rai Rayan heard of the approach of the rebel, he, accompanied by the named *mansabdars*, left for Gwalior. Reaching there, he encamped at Antri, which was five karohs from Gwalior and chose village (mauza) of Chaurhili **(fol. 96a)** as his battle-field because it had an extensive flat ground.

Next day the enemy also reached the above named spot, and arranged his troops in battle array and the fighting started. Bhagwant Singh, who was encouraging his soldiers from the back, accompanied by a band of 500 (five hundred) horsemen (sawars) attacked the elephant of the Rai. The soldiers of the Rai could not bear the brunt of attack of the rebels and some of them took to their heels. But the Rai continued to fight from the back of his elephant and discharged arrows. In this confusion the enemy began to plunder the royal camp and, capturing camels, horses and other things, dispersed to their villages (mauzas). Thus the rebels remained on the field only with a handful of his followers. The situation having taken such a turn, the mansabdars and some of the noted servants of the Rai, who had held the ground firmly thought not to remove the Rai for the sake of the prosperity of life, would be tantamount to death, and so that in a body loosened the reins of their horses. When they arrived near the rebel, he sent a few horsemen (sawars) and an elephant ahead, and himself turned back and began to fight. So a constant battle ensued. In the end the accursed was fallen on the dust of ignominy by the sword blows of fighting warriors and despatched to hell **(fol. 96b)**. Rai Rayan, turning his elephant towards the spot, cut his head off. And thus, having collected the wounded, next day he, marching on his way to Gwalior, arrived in the town (qasba) of Antri

and encamped there for a day. At Gwalior, he encamped in *Bagh-i-Mansur Khan*. There he had an intense attack of diarrhoea and (the same night) he died after one quarter (pahar) of the night.

The Emperor, on being informed about the success of Rai Rayan against Bhagwant Singh and the latter's death at the hands of the former said, "Though he (Rai Rayan) performed excellent services, every flower needs a must shrivel and wither in the end."[64] Being satisfied with the said expedition, the Emperor despatched Prince Muhammad Shah Alam Bahadur and Prince Muhammad Azam Shah with a large force for the conquest of the fort of Bijapur.[65]

'March of Shah Alam and Azam Shah towards the fort of Bijapur'

Prince Shah Alam Bahadur and Prince Azam Shah were appointed commanders of the victorious army and were despatched for the conquest of the fort of Bijapur. Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash and other prominent nobles (amirs) were ordered to accompany them. When they had covered two or three stages of their journey, Sikander, the ruler (*wali*) of Bijapur, came to know of their march. So he despatched a force of 30,000 (thirty thousand) horsemen (sawars) to oppose (them). Those short-sighted, covering the distance of forty *karohs*, halted at a place, close to the imperial army. Thereafter, both the Princes, by way of precaution halted there. The ill-intentioned Deccanies surrounded the imperial camp from all sides (fol. 97a). But the brave warriors, fully armed and accurated might duly engaged themselves in chastising and teaching them a lesson. After fifteen-days journey the Princes resumed their march and, resisting and fighting, they traversed three to four *karohs* (each day). After a lot of fighting and bloodshed, they were able to reach Bijapur. After arriving there, they opened the siege of the city of Bijapur.

Sikander, who had equipped the fort with guns, cannons and other materials and weapons of war, had issued peremptory orders to the commandant so he killed a large number of soldiers with the fire of reason destroying guns and sense consuming cannons. Also from the side of the victorious army, the artillery was belching fire like rain. But because the chiefs of that region like ants and locusts had become a source of insurrection and rebellion so a few months had passed in this manner.[66] Scarcity of food became very acute.........[67] Therefore the soldiers were reduced to helplessness and some of them died in distress (fol. 97b).

The news of the high prices of grain was conveyed to the Emperor. By chance, on that very day a carvan of the *Banjaras*, with 5,000 (five thousand) bullocks and other animals, loaded with grain such as wheat and rice, reached the imperial camp. The Emperor sent the *Banjaras* with all bullocks and treasure chests under the charge of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Ran Mast Khan, Aman-ullah Khan and other servants of the state towards the encampment of the Princes. Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur and other nobles (amirs) surrounded the *Banjaras* from all sides and escorted them (towards their destination). When they reached Andi, Sharza, a prominent servant of Sikander, with 8,000 (eight thousand) horsemen (sawars) came to challenge them. Thus, a fierce conflict took place between them. In the thick of battle, 5,000 (five thousand) accursed Deccanies launched a surprise attack and carried away 500 (five hundred) oxen from the midst of the imperial army. Thereupon, the brave soldiers attacked them from all sides and killed a large number of them. In short, in this assault Aman-ullah Khan and some of his distinguished servants became martyrs. Sharza and other miserable-fellows took to their heels. Thereafter, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur and other nobles (amirs) covered one stage after another with great care and caution. They, at last, reached the victorious camp. There they paid their respects to both the Princes. The food shortage was removed, and the prices of grain came down, which satisfied the people.[68] After a few months the imperial nobles (amirs) encouraged,

exerted themselves to their utmost. First, they chose besieging the fort and shelled its ramparts and defences (**fol. 98a**) and advanced their entrenchments (morchals). But the conquest of the fort, which no equal in strength, was by no means in sight.

Meanwhile, differences and jealousies cropped up in the rank and file of the nobles (amirs) so much so that Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur without getting the permission of the Princes left for the exalted presence. He came and paid his respects there.[69]

'The Appointment of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur to crush the Rebellion of Raja Ram Jat'

During the same period, the accursed and ill-intentioned, Raja Ram Jat, had created great disturbances in the precinct of Akbarabad. The Emperor appointed Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur for the chastisement of the aforesaid.[70]

Meanwhile, Qazi Abu Saeed was removed from the service of the imperial camp (Urdu-i-Mualla). Khwaja Abdullah, the *Qazi* of the army (lashkar) of the Prince Azam Shah was given the said charge by the Emperor.[71]

FOOT NOTES

1. "On Sunday, the 7th Zil. Qad. A.H. 1090 (30th Nov., 1679), the Emperor started from Ajmer to punish the Rana of Marwar." *M.A. 182* ; *G.N. Sharma, Merwar and the Mughal Emperor,* 2nd ed. Bombay, 1962; G.D. Sharma op. cit.

2. It was village Jue Mandal. *M.A. 183.*

3. Prince Muhammad Azam, born on the 12th Shaban A.H. 1063 (28th June 1653 A.D.), to Dilrus Banu Begum, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi. By the excellent training of His Majesty (Aurangzeb) he ascended the pinnacle of perfection and gained abundance of accomplishments and excellent qualities. Aurangzeb used to be extremely delighted with this prince's noble character and excellent manners: He had a wonderful brilliance and firmness; in contests of quick repartee and discovering the aptest word he was everywhere very nimble-witted. He had attained the status of a comrade of his father, who often used to say "Between this pair of matchless friends, a separation is imminent." On the 18th Rabi, I, 1118 A.H. (8th June, 1707), three months and twenty days after the death of Aurangzeb, he died after fighting bravely in a battle (against Shah Alam, II, at Jaju), *M.A. 536-39 &* Satish Chandra, op. cit. (introduction).

4. Prince Muhammad Azam joined the imperial camp at Jue Mandal. *M.A., 183-84.*

5. Hasan Ali Khan was sent with Prince Akbar. The date of their departure is the 12th Safar, A.H. 1096 (4th March. 1680), *Ibid.,* 187-88.

6. "The Rana himself laid waste Udaipur, and with his family retired into an inaccessible mountainous region." K.K. II, 263.

7. "11th Safar, A.H. 1090 (Mon. the 22nd Feb. 1680), the Emperor visited Chittor". *M.A. 18.*

   "The Emperor encamped in the pass. Hasan Ali Khan was sent in pursuit of the Rana. Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur and Prince Muhammad Azam were permitted to view Udaipur. Ruhullah Khan and Itiqad Khan went to demolish the great temple in front of the Rana's palace." *Ibid. 186.* From this account, it is evident that the Emperor was not present at the time of the demolition of the temples. It further mentions that only one temple which was situated near the Rana's palace was destroyed. See also; K.K.II, 263-69 ; G.N. Sharma op. cit., 172.

8. "Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was appointed the subedar of the Deccan." *M.A. 189.*

9. "The Rana reigned from 10th Oct., 1652 A.D. to 22nd Oct., 1680." G.N. Sharma, op. cit. 153.

10. "As Mir Shihabuddin's luck was in the ascendant, the Emperor summoned him, when the Mir was stationed at midnight with a party of scouts round His Majesty's tent and said, It is some days since Hasan Ali Khan entered the pass in pursuit of the infidel. No news has come of him. You should go and get the news. Without any delay he sets out with his party to execute the command. Inspite of his ignorance of the state of the strange country, the ups and downs, diversity of the roads, the long distance, and the fear of robbers, he was guided by fortune to the army of the Khan. He procured reaching the imperial camp at night two days after starting and had audience. Without the mediation of the Bakhsis to present him for making his bow of promotion, he received an increment of 200 making him a 700 the title of the Khan, an elephant, and a special bow and quiver, and was again sent to Hasan Ali Khan to convey the Emperor's orders. This was the beginning of his advancement". *M.A., 186-87*; K.K. II, 267 & *M.U. II, 832.*

11. "On Saturday, the 6th March, 1680, the Emperor started from Udaipur and on Monday, the 22nd. March, he arrived at Ajmer." *M.A., 190-91*

12. The *Basatin* also mentions that the Rana ceded a few provinces as peshkash or fine, and promised to be loyal. *Basatin, 519* while Khafi Khan and Saqi say that the acceptance of *Jiziah* as the condition of the first treaty, and makes no mention of in the final treaty of terms". K.K. II, 269. "Rana ceded the parganas of Mandalpur and Bidnaur in lieu of the *Jiziah*, Mewar was restored and the rank of 5,000 (five thousand) was conferred upon him." *M.A. 207, 208* ; See also *Storia II, 252; Salatin-i-chaghtai, II, fol. 127.*

13. Bhim Singh was created the Raja and he was posted at Ajmer for war with the Rathors. See *M.A. 212.*

14. On 26th Zil H. 1091 (7th Jan. 1681), the Emperor learnt from the letters of spies that Prince Muhammad Akbar had rebelled." *M.A. 197.*

15. "Prince Muhammad Akbar sent Mirak Khan to Shihabuddin Khan to seduce him with favour and gifts to join him. Shihabuddin, who had a large force with him and was at some distance from the Prince's army, very wisely marched away, rapidly covered, sixty *kos* in two days, and joined the Emperor, bringing Mirak Khan with himself." Ibid. 199.

16. "On Wed. 2nd. Muharram 1091/12th Jan. 1681, a letter was received from Shah Alam Bahadur stating that he had reached the lake of Rana and was soon coming to meet the Emperor. Asad Khan, Muhammad Ali Khan, Abu Nasar Khan, reconnoitre in the direction of the lake of Pushar, and returned." Ibid. 200.

17. Ishwardas drops the word Prince for Akbar.

18. The strength of the army of Prince Akbar is variously estimated. "When the Prince rebelled, he was joined by 30,000 Rajputs" K.K. II, 263. It is supported by *Storla, II, 245.*

    The Rajput army before Akbar's defection was about 25,000 horsemen". When the Prince rebelled, he was joined by 30,000 Rajputs," K.K.II, 265 and *Storla, II, 245.* To this body the Maharana contributed only half his armed strength. *Adab, No. 756.* The Rathor national militia is frequently computed in the Rajput annals at fifty thousand *talwari Rathors* an indefinite expression, more than double as 20,000 strong. This information is collected from scanty references. *M.A.* is silent about it.

19. 16,000 cavalry; 10,000 for front and 6,000 for left and right. The Emperor however, after well preparations, on 3rd. Muharram after performing Friday Prayer and reading the *Fataha* at the tomb of Shaikh Muin-ud-Din (Chishti), started from Ajmer and stopped at the camp of Deorai." *M.A., 200*

20. Khafi Khan does not countenance the theory that Aurangzeb allowed a letter to fall into the hands of the Rajputs, in which the Emperor had highly commended Akbar for his pretended revolt and had asked his son to attack them (i.e. the Rajputs) in the rear. The fact is that the Rajputs, suspecting the defection of the two officers, scented treachery and hurriedly left the field." But he admits that the story was current in the camp." *M.L. 268-69;* Saqi does not mention any thing of this sort.

21. Tahawur Khan was the son-in-law of Inayat Khan, a high officer in the imperial army. It was on the pleading of Inayat Khan that Tahawur Khan left Akbar's camp. M.*A. 198.* See also K.K. II, 269.

22. Other contemporary and near-contemporary sources do not support it.

23. "At one quarter (pahar) and two *gharis* of the night, the Emperor was kneeling on the prayer-carpet and Shah Alam Bahadur was present, when the news came that Padshah Quli Khan, having come from the enemy's army, had reached the door of audience hall, Lutfullah Khan, Darogha of the Ghusal Khana was ordered to bring him unarmed. The wretch, who had evidently some wicked intention

in his mind, strongly objected to taking off his arms after reaching the devdhi of the Ghusal Khana. Lutfullah Khan coming in reported, that he says he is a hereditary servant (Khanahzad), and had never been made to enter anywhere deprived of his arms." The Emperor said, "He must not come in armed". Lutfullah Khan then went back to him. He was seized with despair, and wanted to run away. But this ingratitude clogged his steps. As soon as he stepped out of the screen of the door of the Ghusal Khana, the men of the imperial retinue and the slaves fell upon him. As he were cuirass and coat of mail under it, the blows produced little effect. One struck him on the throat and silenced his disturbance." *M.A., 201*; See also K.K.II, 268 ; *Storia, II, 247.*

24. Before the dawn of Sunday, the 16th Jan., 1681/6th Muharam A.H. 1091, the Emperor learnt that Muhammad Akbar who had encamped on a half *kos* from his (the Emperor's tent) had fled away at midnight leaving his family and children behind." *M.A.* and *202* ; and K.K. II, 268. Saqi reports it during the same night, "the courtier made their bows for this victory. Music of rejoicing was played for three hours. Muhammad Ali Khan, Khan-i-Saman, went to confiscate his stores (karkhanajats). Darbar Khan, *nazir*, brought to the Emperor Nekusiyar and Muhammad Asghar, the sons, and Safiyyat-un-Nisa, Zakiyyat-un-Nisa and Najibat-un-Nisa, the daughters, and Salima Banu Begum, the wife and other relatives of the Prince. *Ibid. 203* ; See also *Basatin, 349* ; K.K. II. 265-76 ; Bhim Sen, II, 170 ; *Storia, II, 243-51*

25. Saqi mentions a long list of the personnel including Zeb-un-Nisa Begum who were all punished by the Emperor". *M.*A., *203-204.*

26 "On Monday, the 7th Muharram, A.H. 1091, the Emperor returned and after visiting the tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, he entered the palace of Ajmer". *Ibid., 203.*

27. Saqi gives the following names: Qilij Khan, Khan Zaman, Inder Singh, Ram Singh and Sujan Singh *Ibid., 203.*

28. His name was Girdhar Joshi.

29. Muhammad Azimuddin, the son of Shah Alam Bahadur, was born on Monday, the 5th Dec., 1664 A.D. to the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor; *M.A. 49.*

30. "On Thursday, the 5th Ramzan 1092/8th Sept., 168 ; the Emperor started from the city and halted at the stage of Deorai. On Friday, the 6th Ramzan, Prince Muhammad Azimuddin was sent back to Ajmer. Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan, Itiqad Khan, son of Asad Khan, Kamaluddin Khan, son of Dilir Khan, Raja Bhim Singh and

his son, Dindar Khan, son of Namdar Khan, Inayat Khan Faujdar of Ajmer, and Sayied Yusuf Bukhari, Commandant of Garh Bithli, were sent back with the Prince." *M.A. 212-13.*

31. Saqi gives the date and details of the occurrence in the following words : "On Sat, the 7th Ramzan, 1092 (10th Sept., 1681), news came from Delhi that Jahanara Banu Begum had died on Tuesday, 3rd Ramzan, A.H. 1092 (6th Sept, 1681). She was buried in the compound of the sepulchre of Shaikh Nizamud-Din Auliya, where she had constructed her own tomb in her life time." He further mentions that the Emperor was very sorry to hear of the death of his loving eldest sister and forbade the beating of drums for three days." He sums up the good qualities of her character in the following words : "The lady, now wrapped up in divine forgiveness, was endowed with the gracious quality of charity and the noble trait of benevolence. She always took care to be polite in her manners to her equals and bestowed her gifts and compassion on the general public. (With her death the shade of bounty was withdrawn) from the head of the World, and the store of liberality disappeared from the hand of the age. The Emperor ordered her title to be written as "Sahibat-uz-Zamani." *Ibid, 213.*

32. "On Monday 2nd Ramzan, 1092/5th Sept., 1681, the Emperor issued orders for his camp to be moved from Ajmer towards Burhanpur. On Tuesday, the 5th Ramzan, he started from the city and halted at the stage of Deorai, and on Sunday, 12th Zil. Q. 13th Nov., 1681, he reached Burhanpur." *M.A., 212 & 214.*

33 "Ruhullah Khan was sent to attack Bijapur. Fath Mamur, son of Dilir Khan, Shihabuddin and other servants were ordered to go with him." *M.A.216.*

34. "The Prince was coming from the bank of Nira." *M.A. 230.*

35. "Muhammad Kam Bakhsh went with Ruhullah Khan and presented 4,000 rupees from the Emperor, 50 gold coins (mohars) from his side and 100 gold coins (mohars) and 1,000 rupees on behalf of Ruhullah Khan. Muhammad Salim Aslam, a servant of the Emperor wrote a long masnavi on this incident. For details See *M.A. 230, 31, 32, 33,*

36. "News came on the 13th Zil Q. A.H. 1092 (14th Nov., 1681) the imperial servants headed by Itiqad Khan, had attacked the Rathors who had assembled in a body of nearly 3,000 troopers in Merta ; a severe battle was fought. Five hundred of the rebels fell in the battle including Sonang, his brother Ajab Singh, Shayamaldas, Bharidas, Gokuldas and other chiefs, killed or wounded. The rest fled away. Many of the imperial servants were also slain. Sardar

Tarin, Sher Afghan, and others were wounded. Itiqad Khan received an increment of 500; and his followers too were rewarded." *Ibid.*, *214-15.*

37. "Shaikh Makhdum of Thatta, munshi of Muhammad Azam, became munshi of the Emperor. He received the mansab of 500/300, a dagger with sadahkar, 2,000 rupees in cash and ten pieces of cloth, fotah, jamawar and kamkhab." Afterwards he rose to the mansab of 1,500 and got the title of Fazil Khan and the post of a judge (Sadr) which he held till his death. *Ibid. 191.*

38. Ishwardas commits the chronological mistakes. "On Sunday the 25th Rajab, A.H. 1091 (the 31st July 1681) Prince Muhammad Azam got the title of Shah and was appointed to the Deccan expedition." *Ibid., 211.*

39. "Zeb-un-Nisa Begum, born on the 10th Shawwal, A.H. 1047 (15th February, 1638) the text of M.A. is wrong by one year, to (Dilras Begum Banu). She was a hafiz, master of the Arabic and Persian languages and was master of *nastaliq, naskh* and *shikastah* She died in her father's life time, in the 46th year of his reign, A.H. 1113 (26th May, 1702). See *M.A, 538-39.*

40. "The Emperor felt suspicion against Prince Azam who had been sent to Ahmadnagar. He summoned him and Dilir Khan to his presence. They delayed coming, but with great insistence, he made them come. Dilir Khan got the Emperor's punishment. Bhim Sen. II. 178. But in August 1683 Muhammad Hadi, a son of Mir Khan, who had been punished in 1670 on suspicion of having put ideas of independence into the head of Azam, was brought under arrest from the camp of Azam and spent some days in the custody of two officers (probably investigation and torture). Azam paid another visit to his father late in October, 1683 after Dilir Khan's death, who had died a natural death about 20th Sept., 1683. *M A. 230-34, 237.*

41. "On 3rd. Shawwal A.H. 1094 (the 15th Sept., 1683) as commanded by His Majesty, the advancement of Shah Alam Bahadur come out of Aurangabad, playing sweet music with the object of extirpating the enemy in the direction of Konkan and Ramdarah and other lands of the Marathas". *Ibid., 237.*

42. Khafi Khan gives the strength of the army 20,000 cavalry (sawars) and the name of the channel also. The Prince crossed the river Krishna and entered the Belgaum district in the western Carnatic." *M.L.II, 291.*

43. Sarkar says "Ten instead of two was meant by Ishwardas, as we learn from Manucci that the encounter took place near [illegible]. *The Prince reached Bichdim on the 9th Jan. 1684, op. cit. 4, [illegible]*

44. Fryer says, "so long as he (Sambha) can any way get money to feed the nobles (amirs), who sell the king's interest and honour daily and not only they, but the whole soldiery account Sambha destroy him, for them they may lose their employment and income, for when the king's occasion requires them not, they are laid aside. *Surat to Co. 30th November,1683.*

45. "Many died of the great heat and thirst they under-went" K.K.II, 292.

46. "The Prince received the grain twice." Bhim Sen, II, 182.

47. Ishwardas gives the best account of this expedition and Manucci is good for the latter half only. See also K.K. II, 280, 290, 292 and Bhim Sen, II, 181 and 183 tells nothing new about it. The few references in F.R. have already been given. The Portuguese records and Jedhe S. supply some useful details and dates. *Basatin* says that the Prince reached Ahmadnagar on 29th June by way of Bidri and Tikota, *B.S. 528-531.*

48. "On Sunday the 13th Jamad II (the 18th May, 1684) Shah Alam Bahadur, from the Konkan, had audience and received a robe (khilat), jewels worth three lakhs and 90,000 rupees. His sons got (khilats) robes and jewels. Ruhullah Khan and Munawwar Khan interviewed, receiving robes (khilats). *M.A. 244.*

49. The Emperor marched on 10th Rabi. I, 1097 (14th January, 1687), *Ibid., 287.*

50. Ishwardas commits the chronological mistake as usual. He places the conquest of Golconda before Bijapur. Actually, Golconda was conquered on 21st Sept. 1687 and Bijapur on the 12th Sept. 1686. It means there is a year difference between the two conquests ; Bijapur coming earlier then Golconda.

51. Bhim Sen says that Shah Alam started from the imperial camp at Sholapur after Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur had been checked at Malkhed and had reported to the Emperor. *Dilkusha, II, 187.* Saqi distinctly states that the Prince received marching orders on 28th June and Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur three weeks later. *M.A., 260*; K.K. II, 292.

52. It is reported by other chroniclers that Ibrahim's intended treachery was suspected by the Golconda Government and a plan was formed to arrest him, but he forestalled it by escaping to the camp of Prince when the Mughal arrived in the vicinity of Haiderabad (in the beginning of October, 1685) Bhim Sen, 189; K.K.II, 298-306.

53. Khafi Khan and Bhim Sen observe, "One night in March, 1686, just after Madanna Pandit had left his master's presence, he was sat upon and murdered in the street of Golconda by Jamshed and other

slaves, with the help of some of the ministers' own guards, who had been corrupted by the conspirators. Akkanna, who was with him shared him brother's fate on the s pot. Their brave and accomplished nephew, Rustam Rao, whom Khafi Khan called "a renowned master of the pen and sword alike", was chased to his house and there stabbed to death. The wazir's family and residence were plundered. Next a general attack was made by the mob on Hindu quarter of the fort and many other Brahmans lost their lives and property in that night." *M.L. II, 308* and *Dilkusha, II, 191.*

54. "On Sunday, the 30th Zia Q. A.H. 1096 (the 18th Oct, 1685) the Emperor received the despatches sent by Shah Alam Bahadur nad Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur which contained the capture of the city of Haiderabad, the shutting up of Abdul Hasan in the fort of Golconda, the interview of Ibrahim, the enemy's Commander-in-Chief (who had been created Khalil-Ullah Khan) Muhammhd Taqi the Courtier , Sharif-ul-Mulk, Abul Hasan's sister's husband, and others with the Prince, the recommendation of mansab for each of them and the arrival of Abul Hasan's letters to be shown to him *M.A. 267,268-69* & K.K., II, 308.

Muhammad Azam Shah, who had started to punish the rebels of Hindustan before the Emperor set out from Sholapur, and he reached Burhanpur. The Prince was placed in command of the operations against it. *M.A. 299.*

55. "At midnight, on Wednesday, the 24th Zil. Q. A.H. 1098 (the 21st Sept. 1688), the Bakshi-ul-Mulk with a party of heroes including Bahadur Khan and other persons went to look out for an opportunity, was talking round it, when through the treachery of Sarandaz Khan Batri Bijapuri, who had deserted the imperial service before the capture of Bijapur, and afterwards joined Abul Hasan and become his trusted officer, they entered through a back door (khirki) close to the old trenchment. Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, who had been engaged in the operation against the fort, now reached the entrenchment and struck up the music of victory. The Bakhshi-ul-Mulk reached the mansion (haveli) of Abul Hasan, and in spite of the frantic opposition [of his and his companions, captured and brought his way to the presence of the Prince". *M.A., 299* ; see also *K.K.*, II, 329, 68, and *Waqat of Niamat Khan-I-Ali.*

56. "Out of his innate graciousness Azam Shah refrained from ordering this doomed man to be given the due need of his acts, but with the Emperor's permission brought him his (the Prince's) own tent. At the end of the same day, he took him to the Emperor's quarters. The captive in prison of error, after being freed from the terror which filled his heart, was lodged in the tent pitched for him, he

fell under the Emperor's gracious indifference instead of wrath." *M.A.* 300 ; see also *K.K.*, II, 363-364 and *Niamat Khan-i-Ali.*

57. The text reads :

الحاصل شخصی تاریخ این فتح بدینگونه یافته

تاریخ چو از اقبال عالمگیر غازی!!

هویدا گشت فتح حیدرآباد!!

پی تاریخ سال فتح هاتف ندا از غیب "فتح خوب" درداد

Note : Ishwardas is useful for the surrender only For details : Siege of Colconda : *M.A., 288-300.* Niamat Khan-i-Ali in his Waqa-i-treats only eight select episodes of the siege (16th May-22nd. June) in an intolerably rhetorical and rather obscure style. He, however, gives us several details and graphic touches not to be found elsewhere. But his narrative stops full three months before the fall of the fort. The lithographed edition of Khan, published by the Nawal Kishore Press ; but it abounds in gross mistakes, especially of dates.

Khafi Khan gives a simple and useful summary of Niamat Khan, with many additional details, especially of the last stage of the siege, evidently gathered from survivors. His evidence, especially, about diplomatic rupture, is extremely valuable, K.K., 328-368; Bhim Sen, II, 206-28 ; *Storia, II, 306-308. Chahar Gulshan,* 92-a-93-a.

58. "On Tuesday, 3rd. Zil. Haj A.H. 1094 (the 13th November, 1683) the Emperor arrived at the earthern fort of Ahmadnagar, built by Dilir Khan. Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam, son of Qazi Abdul Wahab, was seized by a longing for God, on account of his merit and natural godliness. He decided to renounce the world, and though the Emperor pressed him not to resign the Qaziship for which such men are pre-eminently fit, he did not recoil from his purpose. The Emperor had to assent. At the recommendation of that favoured holy man, he gave the said post to Sayied Abu Said, son-in-law of Qazi Abdul Wahab. He came from Delhi, had his interview, and received a robe (khilat), a sword, and a dagger". *M.A.*, 239.

59. Indrakhi, 43m. East of Gwalior. It should not be confounded with Indragarh, which is 35m. South-West of it and 30m North of Jhansi.

Shahbad is 90m. North of Sironj and nearly the same distance of Gwalior.

60. "They are ashamed of their names, as it presumes a connexion with Chamaras. *Beame's Memoirs on...Races*, I, 105.

61. "Pahad Singh was attacked at the village of Udaipur, some 28 miles South-East of Sironj." *M.A.*, *266*.

62. "Abdul Hakim, a servant of Prince Azam brought the rebel's head to the Emperor." Ibid., 266 (The riot took place in Oct. 1685).

63. The Emperor's letter to Prince Azam reporting this victory and describing Muluk Chand's rewards, in *I.O.L.*, *1344*, *15=Ruqat No. 18*.

64. Ishwardas gives the best account. See also *M.A.*, 266, 273 (important for dates only).

    "The orphan son visited the Emperor and was given a civil post in recognition of his father's services." *I.O.L.*, *1344*, *20a*.

65. "On Wed., the 18th Jamad, II, A H. 1092 (the 14th June 1682 A.D.) Azam Shah was given leave to march towards Bijapur." *M.A.*, *219*.

66. A Persian verse has been left out. See *folio*. *97a*.

67. It was fought at Nagthan. Bhim Sen, II, 199 ; For the graphic account of the battle, see ; K.K., II, 317 and also *M.A.*, *265*.

68. "On Monday, the 16th Zil. A.H 1096 (the 4th October, 1685) the Emperor ordered Firoze Jang Bahadur to set out with a large army and provisions beyond calculations to reinforce and supply to the Prince Army." For further details See, *M.A*, *262-64-65*.

69. But Saqi is silent about it. *M.A*. *265*.

70. Khan-i-Jahan Kokal Tash Zafar Jang was sent in early *1686*, *Ibid*. *274*.

71. "Qazi Sayied Abu Saeed, owing to some illness, begged hard to resign his high office. So Khwaja Abdullah, son of Muhammad Sharif, who had been the *Qazi* of the Emperor's army before his succession, became the *Qazi* of the Court". *M.A*. *258-59*. Abu Said joined in Nov. 1684 and resigned on 30th April 1685. On the same date Abdullah joined it.

Occurrence VII Comprises

'HIS MAJESTY'S DEPARTURE FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF BIJAPUR'

Months passed and yet for the conquest of the fort of Bijapur it was only the first day. The Emperor's world conquering and invincible courage remained unshaken and he was determined to pursue his mission upto its logical end. So all the material necessary for the conquest of the fort was sent towards Bijapur. The news of the Emperor's march made most of the servants of the state unhappy. The nobles (amirs) who had enjoyed His Majesty's confidence and favours, submitted (to him) certain excuses, saying that, "the climate is hostile, and the monsoon may also set in any time. (They also referred) to the scarcity of water (**fol. 98b**) and fodder." Since His Majesty was bent upon the conquest of the fort (of Bijapur), he dismissed the excuses outright.

Traversing a number of stages, the imperial army reached Ahir Bari,[1] where it started raining. Since drought conditions had been prevailing there, the rain was considered a good omen by the Emperor, who thanked the Almighty for it.[2] Unmindful of it, the Emperor continued his march. It rained continuously for many days and soon most of the land inundated and rivulets were in spate. Unmindful of (the said) difficulties, the Emperor, without breaking his journey, reached near the river Bhivdeh, which was in high flood, so much so that even watery creatures felt restless. The fury of the river was reminding them of God's wrath (**fol. 99a**). Having no way out, the Emperor had to encamp there for some

time. When the storm subsided, he crossed the river and reached the village (mauza) of Andi.[3] Meanwhile, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, leaving the siege of the fort (of Bijapur) under the charge of some officers, accompanied by Ghazi-ud-Din Khan,[4] came to pay his respects to the Emperor and brought to (His Majesty's) notice the existing state of affairs.[5]

The solemn natured...Emperor, bearing in mind the prosperity of that region and for the preservation of the wealth of Sikander, which was tending towards destruction, sent a message to him (Sikander) saying, "Nothing has been lost yet. If, led by good fortune, you turn the opposition into goodwill and friendship, with all humility welcome the awe-inspiring standard, and accept imperial service, as a matter of favour your country would be left to you as before and you will not have to face perplexity and destruction." Sikander, who was not discreet enough to understand the situation, out of sheer pride, spurned His Majesty's graciousness and rejected it as a piece of fiction. He did not budge an inch from his resolve (**fol. 99b**).

At last, His Majesty asked the outstanding nobles (azimushan amirs) to strengthen their entrenchments (morchals). They did accordingly. Soon there started an exchange of fire between the two sides (the imperial army and the Bijapuris). The smoke of gun-fire formed a thick layer in the sky, which covered the Sun and turned the day into night. The noise, caused by heavy shelling, pierced the ears and many persons fell unconscious on the ground. On the other hand, Abdul Ghafur, alias Mian Khan and Abdul Nabi, the sons of Abdul Karim Bijapuri, and other prominent and distinguished servants of Sikander, with thousands and thousands horsemen (sawars) having surrounded the imperial army, harassed it from all sides and started fighting. It led to tremendous loss of life on either side.[6] In this way, full one year passed. The imperial army became

nervous and weary. The price of grain went sky-high and the scarcity of fodder assumed serious proportions. Hunger forced men to open their mouths like heads of arrows. The horses (**fol. 100a**) became lifeless like a painting on the wall. Diseases also broke out, which affected a large number of soldiers and they gave up all hopes of their lives. The matter came to such a pass that the merchants (beoparis), growing impatient, started demanding the cash for their goods without a moment's delay. They insisted that all transactions must be made in cash. Everyday presented the sight of the Doom's day. The hardships, experienced during the period, were a painful reminder of the 'Day of Judgement'. Despite heavy odds, the nobles (amirs) and the servants of the state, being subject to the onslaught of the enemy, with faith, confidence and efforts continued to construct the lanes (koochaha) there. By their efforts they were able to advance the trenches (morchals) and succeeded in bringing the imperial standard up to the verge of the moat of the fort.[7]

Meanwhile, the *harkaras* submitted to the Emperor that, "the messengers of Sikander have been in constant touch with Prince Muhammad Shah Alam Bahadur. Inquiries in this regard do not reveal much about the direction or the intentions of the Prince." This rendered the noble mind of the Emperor unhappy and he issued orders to the secretaries (dabirans) to write an effective letter to the Prince, adding further that the Prince was suspended (from the charge) and the *risala* of Jamdat-ul-Mulk Madarul Maham might remain within it." (It was also ordered that) Muhammad Masum, the *wakil* of the ruler of Haiderabad, should be asked to give an undertaking that he would not go hereafter into the presence of the Prince (Shah Alam).[8] Thereafter, His Majesty ordered Bakhshi-ul-Mulk, Ashraf Khan, Muhammad Ali Khan (**fol. 100b**), the *Wazir*, Sharif-ul-Mulk, Fazil Khan, Marhamat Khan, Kaifiyat Khan, Ihtamam Khan and other nobles (amirs) to keep a watch on the imperial camp while the Emperor himself left for Bijapur.

On 2nd. Ziqad A.H. 1095, His Majesty arrived in the

vicinity of Bijapur. He issued an order to the effect that, "everybody after establishing entrenchments (morchals) should lay siege to the fort (of Bijapur) and destroy its ramparts, put up by the enemy (the Bijapuris) and should collect everything necessary for its storming."[9]

At this time the Emperor came to know from the reports of the *harkaras* that Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, Ran Mast Khan, Daud Khan, Rao Anoop Singh, Abdul Wahid Khan and other distinguished nobles (amirs) of the state had succeeded with tremendous exertion in carrying entrenchments (morchals) upto the brink of the moat. Thereafter, Bankoji and Raghoji Bhonsle, with a force of 5,000 (five thousand) horsemen (sawars), coming out of the fort and joining hands with the two sons of Abdul Karim Khan Rohilla, Mian Khan and Abdul Nabi Khan, began to harass the imperial army. Upon this the Emperor ordered Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, Chin Qilij Khan, Bahramand Khan, Mukhlis Khan, Zulfiqar Khan and other prominent nobles (amirs) to go to the enemy's chastisement. Therefore, the said brave men came and soon joined each other. The battle that followed gave them (imperial army) full opportunity to display their courage. They killed a large number of enemy (**fol. 101a**). The latter left with no courage to resist the onslaughts of the imperial army, and retreated hastily. His Majesty honoured all the officers of the imperial army for their remarkable display of courage and equally remarkable victory.[10]

According to the noble orders Saif Khan and other nobles (amirs), coming out of their entrenchments (morchals), tried to fill in the moat with whatever earth they could get (there). Whoever went near the moat, fell a prey to the fire from the fort. The black-coloured (habshi) gunmen shot everybody, who dared approach the moat and none could muster courage to raise his head. For nearly three months, not a single person could succeed in his attempts because the moat, which was very deep and wide, could not be filled up easily. Thereafter, it was announced to the *chapparbands* (those dextrous in constructing chappars) and labourers that

"whoever will throw a basket full of earth in the moat, would be paid four annas for each basket." Thereupon, multitudes gathered and engaged themselves in filling the moat. But as most of them fell victims either to an arrow or a bullet (of the enemy), it created panic among the labourers and they withdrew from the work in hand. The rate of labour was raised to one rupee and slowly to the tune of one gold coin (asharafi) per basket. But the work of pouring earth did not stop. Whoever, man or beast was killed, its dead body was dragged and thrown into the moat. The matter was carried to such an extent that some cruel soldiers threw living men and women into the moat (**fol. 101b**) and earned money out of it. (Really) it was a terrible time.[11] With hectic efforts the entrenchments (morchals) were advanced upto the brink of the moat, which had been nearly filled up (by now).

His Majesty rewarded Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, who had made excellent efforts, with an elephant and two horses. Other nobles (amirs) also received swords and daggers etc. Mir Abdul Hai, the chief of the advance camp (darogha-i-peshkhana) was ordered to pitch the tent of the Emperor near the entrenchments (morchals) so that the latter might be able personally to conduct the operations. So, the tent of the Emperor was pitched near the raised-battery (damdama) of Dilir Khan, which was barely two *karohs* (from it). The Emperor, well-armed and in readiness entered the royal tent (daulat khana) through the safety ally (**fol 102a**). At that time, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, who was posted with other mansabdars there, came out of his entrenchment (morchal) and paid his respects to the Emperor and presented hundred *mohars* as '*nazr*' and offered good wishes to him for the conquest of the fort of Bijapur. The Emperor honoured the Khan by placing his hand on the latter's forehead, which exalted his glory upto the height of the sky. The Khan performed him *taslims* and *kurnish*. In the same manner, other imperial servants also presented their auspicious *nazr* and good wishes and received due honours from the Emperor, according to their status.

His Majesty's entry into the entrenchment (morchal) and the total stoppage of the supply lines by close investment from all sides dampened the spirit of the Bijapuris. In their hard-pressed conditions, Sharza Khan, Abdul Rauf Khan, Abdul Nabi Khan, Mian Khan and other prominent and renowned officers of Sikander, known for their bravery and courage, and had also fought many a battle against the imperial forces, decided to tender submissions to the Emperor through the guidance of (fol. 102b) Ghazi-ud-Din Khan.[12] The Khan reported about the submission to His Majesty, who from the attitude of the rulership, forgave them and allowed them to pay their respects. Through Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, each of them enrolled himself in the imperial service and gathered the felicity of the two worlds. They were given high *mansabs*, titles, elephants, horses, swords, daggers, special robe (khilat-i-khasa) and a *Jagir-i-Tankhwa* and thus their desires were fulfilled.

During the same period, Abdul Qudoos, the nephew (brother's son) of Abdul Rauf. Abdul Ghafoor and Husain Mian, paid their respects to the Emperor with the mediation of the imperial officers—they too, were given *mansabs* and robes (khilats) (by His Majesty). In course of time Sharza Khan was given the title of Rustam Khan and the *mansab* of seven thousand *zat* and six thousand *sawars* (7,000/6,000) whereas Abdul Rauf was given the title of Dilir Khan and a *mansab* of six thousand *zat* and five thousand *sawars* (6,000/5,000) with flag (alam).

Mukhtar Khan was desired to measure the distance between the imperial camp and the fort and to fix a place for the encampment of the Emperor so that the king could join the other servants of state in the final assault against Sikander, who was drowned in the abyssal of pride, and who was to be made a prisoner of his own misdeeds. Thus the Khan, fixing the entrenchments (morchals) at a distance of half *karoh* and two and a half *jaribs*, reported it to the Emperor, who then said, "Tomorrow, after a *ghari* of the day (fol. 103a), all the soldiers of the four posts (chaukis),

fully armed and accorded, should be ready for the assault." Meanwhile Siadat Khan submitted that "the some portion of the moat, which had so far remained unfilled, had also been filled up by the grace of His Majesty." It brought much relief to His Majesty.

Next day all the nobles (amirs) according to their ranks, assembled there. The King, like the world illuminating sun, riding a horse, ordered an assault. Consequently, the nobles (amirs) carried out the Emperor's orders and they were able to reach upto the lower part of the fort. The garrison, from the top of the fort, fired small cannons and matchlocks and then granades like rain on the base of the fort. On account of the intensity of fire, the imperial forces failed to capture it and they retreated. The Emperor, praising their efforts, entered the imperial camp (daulat khana). So the nobles (amirs) also returned to their entrenchments (morchals) and encamped there. In this assault, however a large number of young warriors were killed.

At the same time, Rustam Khan, Dilir Khan, Khanduji, Khandi Rao Bhonsle and other important nobles (amirs) of Sikander through trustworthy officers (of the Emperor) entered the imperial service. The Emperor granted *jagirs* and *mansabs* to them.[13] When Sikander saw that, "most of his officers were deserting him, had accepted the imperial service and the successful (**fol. 103b**) army had reached the walls of the fort, considering the imperial forgiveness to be the only way of his safety, sent a message to the Emperor saying : I am ready to accept the service of the exalted Majesty."[14] Thereupon, the Emperor graciously forgave his faults. It was ordered that let him (Sikander) be brought out of the fort and obtain grace by kissing the hands of the Emperor.

The *Wazir*, Muhammad Ali Khan, was ordered to supply everything required by Sikander. The Jumdat-ul-Mulk was asked to pitch a tent to lodge Sikander there. It was further ordered that the drums of success be sounded. After Sikander's exit, Saif Khan was ordered to look after the

safety of the fort. When two *gharis* of the day had passed Siadat Khan submitted to the Emperor that, "Sikander has come out of the fort." The Emperor ordered the prominent nobles (amirs) the high and low *mansabdars* to present themselves in the audience chamber (diwan-i-khas-o-am) and stand at their respective places. Bahramand Khan was to arrange the decoration and embellishment of the court (Durbar). Then Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, Mahabat Khan, Ikram Khan, Fath Jang Khan and other prominent nobles (amirs) were sent forward to offer welcome to Sikander and to bring him to the imperial camp. When Sikander arrived at the entrance **(fol. 104a)** of the audience hall (khas-o-am) Bakshi-ul-Mulk Ruhullah Khan, Bahramand Khan, Lutfullah Khan and Mukhlis Khan welcomed him and escorted him to the presence of His Majesty. Sikander was very young and in beauty was the second Joseph. The Emperor asked him to stand before him and said : "May the mercy of God be on you. You have thought well and understood your own welfare. God willing, I will exalt you with all kinds of concessions and rewards. Be compact and at peace in every way." Then, according to the orders of His Majesty, Sikander was allowed to sit on the right hand, next to Prince Sultan Muiz-ud-Din. The Emperor bestowed upon him the following presents: a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), jewelled dagger, necklace of pearls, a dagger with studded handle, one special (khasa) elephant, worth Rs. 20,000/- with a female elephant, five horses with golden trappings and precious metals. Thereafter, Sikander performed *taslims* and *kurnish*.[15]

The victorious Emperor was congratulated by his sons, Prince Shah Alam Bahadur, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, Prince Kam Bakhsh, Sultan Muiz-ud-Din, Azim-ud-Din and other nobles (amirs). Each of them, according to his position, presented *nazr* to the Emperor **(fol. 104b)** but he declined it. Later the Emperor offered his *Maghrib* prayers. Thereafter, Sikander was given permission to go to his tent (daira). The *mansabdars* were ordered to escort him.

By the grace of God, this great act of conquest was per-

formed, which had never before been accomplished by any important monarch or ruler, His Majesty offered two *Rakat* of thanks giving (shukrana) and bent his head to the Almighty. Afterwards, the Emperor ordered Muhammad Ali Khan ; "Tomorrow, go into the fort and take into possession all the stores (karkhanajats) of Sikander and confiscate them to the illustrious state."[16]

On the 5th Zil Haj, A.H. 1097, His Majesty, the *Khalifa* of God with the glory of Solomon, riding on the portable throne, marched through the entrenchment (morchal) of Saf Shikan Khan and on his arrival at the gate, he distributed money in charity (khairat). Filling the lap of the poor and the needy, he entered the fort and inspected each and every house and palace (mahal), which in splendour and beauty rivalled the picture-gallery of chin (Nigar Khana-i-Chin). Afterwards, he went into the Masjid-i-Jama and offered two rakat prayers (Do-gana) and bent his head before the Bestower of Grace.[17]

The Emperor visited the palaces of Sikander. "How can the tongue describe the beauty of the palaces. Every edifice and palace (mahal) was studded with gold and silver. Some peculiar and rare paintings were also there. The law of the *Shariat* did not permit it. So His Majesty ordered them to be destroyed (**fol. 105a**). He stayed for sometime there and then left.

Ghazi-ud-Din Khan presented (to the Emperor) a *nazr* of 500/- (five hundred) gold coins (mohars) and Rs. 1,000/- as *nisar*. Bakshi-ul-Mulk Ruhullah Khan, Saf Shikan Khan and other big nobles (amirs) also scattered coins, according to their status. Later on, the Emperor appointed Ghazi-ud-Din Khan to guard Sikander and take care of him and entered the imperial tent. During his journey when His Majesty passed by the tent of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Madarul Maham, he presented to him two swords with studded handles and a piece of (ek dalli) pearls which were accepted. At the close of the day, he entered his encampment.

According to the imperial orders, Shams-ud-Din Khan fired the artillery. Later, the Emperor issued orders that on the opposite side of the entrenchment (morchal) wherefrom the rampart of the fort had been bombarded a massive gate be erected, bearing the name *Fateh mubarak.*[18] In short, the Emperor honoured most of the nobles (amirs) and increased their *mansabs* (accordingly); of the nobles (amirs) of Seven thousand to one thousand (7,000 to 1,000) one thousand to five hundred (1,000 to 500), five hundred to hundred (500 to 100) and hundred to twenty (100 to 20) received promotions in their mansabs. Robes (khilats), swords and other articles were also conferred upon them.

The fort of Bijapur (fol. 105b) is two and a half (2½) *karohs jarib* in length and has a circuit of three hundred (300) cubit (zara) and half *karoh. Malk-i-maidan* was a very big and strong gun. It was five and a half (5½) cubits (zara) in length and it weighed 4¼ (four and one fourth) *maunds.* It could fire a ball weighing two and a half maunds. Of the same type were two other guns *Ranmandal* and *Hazara Bangadi*, which were mounted on strong turrets at a little distance from the fort. In short, Sikander had filled twice the *Malk-i-maidan* with gun-powder but it did not work. Thus, he warned of the Will of the Almighty, he understood that "the fort had gone of his control."[19]

The revenue of the kingdom of Bijapur was one crore and thirty two lakh Adil Khani Huns and all of it was in the possession and control of Sikander. Talkokan, which was known by the name of *Pain Ghat*, wherein many strong forts (had been built) was a dependency (taluqa) of the kingdom (*villayat*) of Bijapur but was under the possession of the wretched, Sambha. The territory, situated on the other side of the river, was also included in the kingdom of Bijapur. But Sidi Masud, the commander of Bijapur, the zamindars of other hills and deserts had taken possession of it. But at this time the kingdom of Bijapur came under the control of the imperial officers[20] (fol. 106a). So an imperial order (farman) was issued to the commandants of all the forts, asking them

to surrender them to the imperial officers, appointed for this purpose and then come and pay their respects to the Emperor. They were promised rewards and high *mansabs*. Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, who was candidated with the conquest of the said forts, got an increase of 1,000 in his *mansab* with Rs. 50,00,000/- (fifty lakhs) as reward (inam). A large army was placed under his command and he was sent for the capture of the said forts.[21] As the climate of Bijapur was not suitable for the Emperor, he ordered that Sholapur should be made the place of his encampment.

At this time, Sikander (Ex-Sultan of Bijapur) submitted to the Emperor that, "The *zamindari* of the land across the river Krishna, which was formerly included in the territory of Bijapur, be assigned to me to enable me to leave my family and children there and then I shall be in attendance upon His Majesty." The Emperor rejected the request saying "you have not seen the beauty of Hindustan, which is a rare picture gallery of the Divine innovation and wonderful accomplishment of unlimited power. I want to take you to heaven-like **(fol. 106b)** Hindustan to afford you the pleasure and satisfaction of recreation and sight-seeing there. After that I shall grant you a lovely spot and comfortable place so that you may be very happy, cheerful and full of delight there."[22]

Ruhullah Khan was appointed the subedar of Bijapur and Muhammad Rafi its *Diwan*. Later on, the Emperor left for Bijapur, and ordered that the tent of Sikander should be pitched near Salabt Bari and that some *mansabdars* of special post (khasa chuki) be posted to guard the camp of Sikander.

'The Reduction of the Mansab of Shah Alam'

On the 17th Zil Hij, the 30th R.Y., the Emperor arrived in Sholapur.[23] There the Emperor was informed that, "**Prince Shah Alam Bahadur, handing over the administartion**

to his subordinates, had completely immersed in worldly pleasures and so the affairs had gone to pieces." Therefore, the Prince fell from the favour of the Emperor. His (Shah Alam's) *mansab*, as also that of his son, was reduced and they became objects of the royal displeasure.[24]

'Marriage of Prince Bidar Bakht with Sahia'

The marriage of Prince Sultan Bidar Bakht, son of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, was arranged with the daughter of...Mukhtar Khan. The Khan arranged festivities.

According to the imperial orders Jamdat-ul-Mulk...Asad Khan (**fol. 107a**) and other high nobles (amirs) attended the functions in their gorgeous dresses and in the evening Prince Muhammad Azam Shah ordered for illuminations. Either side of the road from the palace of the Prince (Azam) upto the Emperor's palace and from the Emperor's palace to the camp (daira) of Mukhtar Khan, was decorated three tiers of lanterns (*fanus*).

After two *gharis* of the night Prince Sultan Bidar Bakht, according to the custom of the royal family, fully dressed, started for the marriage with all the paraphernalia, beating the drums, came to pay his respects to the Emperor and performed his *kurnish* there. The Emperor congratulated him, placed a crown (Sarpech) studded with diamonds, gems and a ruby of the most brilliant lusters and tied a *sehra* of pearls with his own hands upon his forehead. In the 7th *ghari* of the night, the bridegroom (Bidar) obtained leave to proceed for the marriage.

According to the Emperor's orders, Mukhtar Khan, Ghazanfar Khan, other *mansabdars* and mace-bearers, holding gold and silver maces, accompanied by Bahramand Khan, Lutfullah Khan, Mukhlis Khan and others, followed the Prince.

When they reached near the camp (daira) of the said

Khan, he accompanied by Jumdat-ul-Mulk and Madarul Maham Asad Khan and other high nobles (amirs), who were present there, greeted the Prince (bridegroom) and performed the rites of *kurnish* there. Eighteen pieces (thans) of cloth were presented as a token of stepping (pa-andazi) (on the marriage party) and seven *taqawuz* (i.e. sixty three pieces) (thans) of (cloth) for the Prince together with seven Arabi (fol. 107b.) and Iraqi horses and one elephant with gold trappings. Then all of them went inside the camp. *Nikah* was performed and a *mahar* (settlement) of Rs. 2,00,000/- (two lakh) was fixed. Thereafter, all the nobles (*amirs*) congratulated the Prince.

After mid-night Prince Azam Shah and Prince Sultan Bidar Bakht, accompanied by the nobles (amirs), left the camp (of the aforesaid Khan) and presented themselves before the Emperor and performed their *taslims* there. The Emperor congratulated the Prince and presented jewels worth Rs. 2,00,000/- (two lakhs) to the Prince and the studded ornaments worth Rs. 2,00,000/- (two lakhs) to the daughter of Mukhtar Khan (Sabia) and permitted them to go. Towards the end of the night they reached their palace, and the Prince accompanied by his wife, the Moon of the Zodiac of purity, returned to the private apartment and enjoyed themselves fully.

In the morning the nobles (amirs) paid their respects to the Prince (Azam Shah) congratulated him and present *nazr* and *nisar* according to their status. Mukhtar Khan arranged feasts, parties and functions in their honour.[25]

The news reached the Court that the forts of (*Turkel*) and Ibrahim Garh had been captured by the heroic efforts of Qasim Khan and Ghazi-ud-Din Khan respectively (fol. 108a). The golden keys of the conquered forts were presented before the Emperor which pleased him much.[26] During the repeated reports of the exertions of Kartalab Khan, having reached the Emperor, he was exalted with the grant of a drum.

(In continuation of the preceding pages) the spies reported that "Abdul Shakoor, son of Uzbek Khan, who had been dismissed from his *mansab*, was staying at Sholapur. On hearing the news of the march of imperial standard imprinted on his vile heart the desire of insurgence, had come out of Sholapur with one hundred eight Mughal and Uzbek soldiers and joined the rebel, Akbar.

Meanwhile the petition (arz-dasht) of Bahadur Khan, the *thanadar* (of Shir Wagundeh) was received at the court informing: "the ill-starred, Sambha desires to send the rebel, Akbar with a big army, consisting of horses and foot (sawars and piyadas) towards Hindustan." The Emperor bestowed following presents upon Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), a studded crown (Sarpech) worth Rs. 20,000/- (twenty thousand), one Iraqi horse with golden trappings, an elephant with golden trappings and ordered him with thirty thousand (30,000) horsemen (sawars) to proceed towards Ahmadnagar, which lay on the route of the rebellious (Akbar). He was further instructed to march with speed to block the roads and be careful and capture him (Akbar) wherever he went.

Aziz Khan, the son of (fol. 108b) late Bahadur Khan, who was the servant of Prince Shah Alam Bahadur, was ordered to join the Emperor's service.

The Emperor started for Gulburga. On the 3rd Safar, at the delight permeated territory of Gulburga, the imperial camp was pitched. Sidi Shamal Khan was exalted with the grant of banner (alam) and drums. In the morning, he started for the mausoleum (Ruiza) of Sayied Muhammad Gaisu-Daraz. Entering there, he circumambulated it and presented Rs. 2,000/- as *nazr*. From there, the Emperor visited these seclusionist, who was passing his life in solitary, had an hour long discussion there. Later on, he returned to his camp.[27]

Thereafter the Emperor, covering many stages, encamped

near the bank of Muktana tank which was very spacious and deep.[28] Meanwhile the petition (arz-dasht) of Ruhullah Khan was received at the imperial court. From it, the Emperor came to know that, "while the Khan was engaged in the maintenance of law and order in the area, situated on the other side of the river Krishna, he was informed by the spies (mukhbirs) that Anand Rao, a very distinguished and prominent servant of the ill-starred, Sambha, had entered the imperial territory with a big force for the collection of the *Chauth* (fol. 109a). The aforesaid Khan sent Khanahzad Khan to chastise him, who defeated ill-starred Anand Rao and dispersed the latter's forces there. "So *hasbul hukm* was sent to the Khan, ordering him to engage himself in the suppression of bad elements."

On the 25th *Safar*, the Emperor accompanied by his army reached the city (Balda) Zafarabad (Bidar).[29] Haji Shafi Khan, the commandant of the happy foundation, Aurangabad, was ordered by the Emperor to arrest Bindraban, a servant of Prince Shah Alam Bahadur, who after his dismissal had remained there, so that he might not absent himself.

It was also reported to the Emperor that "Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, who was appointed to punish and check the rebellious designs of the rebel, Akbar had reached Kandapur, and that the victim of accidents, Akbar in great distress and perturbation, arrived near the fort of Salhir. Prince Muhammad Azam Shah following the latter in the wake, took his position near the fort of Hanuwantgarh, which is in its vicinity, barred his path. Unable to stay there, Akbar went over to the fort of Mahawali, which was situated in Talkokan and shut himself there. Fed up with his wanderings (fol. 109b) in hills and forests and ashamed and repentant of his unworthy actions, he wanted to approach the Emperor, solicit his generosity and grace and humble and submissively plead for pardon and place his forehead on the royal threshold. But at the instigation of Durgadas Rathor, who was his constant companion, he was unable to give shape

to his cherished desire. Later on, from the report (*waqa-i*) *of Sirol*, it was brought to the notice of the Emperor that, "the rebel, Akbar, had gone to *Kaliani Bhimri* from the fort of *Mahawali*, where he passed two or three days and afterwards he slipped into the hills." After sometime, he went to the fort of *Panala* (from there) where he had a severe skirmish with the imperial forces. Having no strength to go further, he turned his reins back. Kakar Khan and Marhamat Khan, who had gone to reinforce the imperial army, were required to go back (as quickly as possible) with all their followers. They came and joined there.

On the 15th Rabiul Awal, the Emperor, marching from the vicinity of Zafarabad, encamped near the garden of *Mukhtar Khan* and *Farman Bari*. On his arrival there the places were turned into paradise. He stayed for a night there and the next day, early in the morning, he started for the fortress of Arak. After two quarters (pahars) of the day, he entered his camp.

The petition (arz-dasht) of Abul Khair Khan (the commandant of Khybar) together with the golden key, (**fol. 110a**) was presented to the Emperor indicating that, "the fort of Sangola had been conquered by the grace of the Emperor. The commandant of the fort, who was bent upon fighting, had also been made a prisoner by the active and brave cooperation of the servants of the state." The Emperor himself saw the key of the fort and later ordered that prisoners be sent to the imperial court. The Khan was honoured by the Emperor for his good services.[30]

Shair Muhammad, son of Mariyam Mughlani, who according to the illustrious orders had taken the letter of Zeb-un-Nisa Begum to the rebel Akbar, offering him advice and instruction, having delivered it to him brought a petition (arz-dasht) in reply to it. Its impact was submitted to His Majesty. It ran as follows. "I am hopeful of pardon and of apologies from the graciousness and kindness of His Majesty. If I am exonerated from royal suspicions and

doubts and having been excused become the object of mercy, I shall in future not transgress the line of discretion and shall ever traverse the path of obedience and allegiance." The Emperor, the shadow of God, issued a *farman* in this connection on the following lines: "My favours and kindnesses, for that dear son (Akbar), are the same as they were in the days gone by (fol. 110b). Whatever harm and injury hath fallen upon thee, on account of thy wanderings in plains and deserts, has saddened my kind disposition. Thou should banish all fear from thy mind and, considering my kindness a good omen, come with all haste and get blessed by the attainment of the grace of my services." The copies of both the letters were sent to Prince Muhammad Azam Shah.

After one month, it was reported to the Emperor by the *harkaras* that "Akbar, the rebel, had been wandering to and fro and that he was a disappointed person now and that finding no way out, he went to the accursed Sambha and after seeking reinforcements, he had gone to the fort of Mahuli. There he would furnish himself with the necessary equipment and then go to Shahpur, which is at a distance of twenty *karohs* from the sea. Leaving Dau to the right, his intention was to leave for Daman by taking the path of Jawar, which was situated five *karohs* from the imperial boundry and to cross the sea." (Hearing this) the Emperor remarked that "perpetual misfortune has gripped him by his neck and he would keep wandering in hills and forests."[11]

According to the orders of the Emperor, the family of Sikander Bijapuri was despatched to Aurangabad. The petition (arz-dasht) of Qasim Khan, conveyed the information to the court that "twenty forts, belonging to Bijapur had been occupied. He requested that commandants be appointed for them. A *farman* was issued in the name of the aforesaid Khan, praising his efforts. It was also ordered that Bahramand Khan should suggest the names of the commandants and that they be despatched, accordingly.

(fol. 111a) Ali Aqa, the messenger of the *Sharif* of *Mecca* Muazzama, had audience and presented a *nisbat-i-*

Ibrahimi, a copy of *Quran*, and a cover of the *Rauza-i-Munawara*, a horse and a petition (arz-dasht) of Shaikh-ul-Islam and other gifts.

'Discontinuation of The Jiziah for the Year in Haiderabad'

The *Nazim* of Haiderabad reported to the Emperor that the people of Haiderabad, on account of their poverty, were unable to pay *Jiziah*. Whenever, they were to pay, they ran away. He expressed his readiness to follow the instructions, issued to him. Thereupon, the Emperor ordered that, "the *Jiziah* of a year, cesses (mahsul-sair), etc. and other forbidden cesses (*abwab*) be not collected from them and that they be asked to remain in their villages and palaces (mahals) and engage themselves in cultivation and their professions. From the dependencies (parganas) only the amount of reserve (jama) be levied as was consistent with the well-being and prosperity of the subject (*raiyat*) and the custom duty (mahsool) be realised from merchants according to the prescribed regulations (zabta).

The Emperor said to Qilij Khan : "I myself had ordered Ghazi-ud-Din Khan to go with his army to suppress ruthlessly and chastise the troops of the vile-enemy, which had entrenched himself in the fort of Mahuli and seize the dependencies (parganas) of Bijapur. The aforesaid Khan did not put in his heart in the work, according to our desire. Therefore, it has becomes incumbent on us to proceed in person to annihilate that accursed enemy (**fol. 111b**). Upon this Qilij Khan, a dedicated and loyal servant, submitted to the Emperor : "Your Majesty should not worry, when so many faithful servants are ready to sacrifice their lives for the accomplishment of it. Any humble servant will finish it. If your Majesty orders me, this humble-self, will accomplish it." Ultimately the Khan's submission was accepted by the Emperor. Sarbuland Khan, Raja Bhim Singh and Man Singh Rathor were posted with the Khan and a large force was also placed under his command[88] to accomplish the said task.

The Khan accompanied by the said nobles (amirs) and a large army, reached the said place, held by the accursed enemy. First he attempted to repel them by missiles, and after then he attacked with arrows and matchlocks and made them targets of the arrow of calamity. A deadly conflict ensued and a large number from either side perished. At last, the mischief-mongers, having no strength to resist, took to their heels. The warriors (Ghazis) of the victorious army plundered their tents and captured most of them (as prisoners). Thereafter, the imperial soldiers returned to the camp and busied themselves with the burial of the dead and nursing of the wounded.

Next morning the wretched rebels opened (three pronged) attack on the imperial army. The brave soldiers of the imperial army were in their saddles ready to face them (fol. 112a). When the Emperor came to know about the encounter, he despatched Munawwar Khan and Bahramand Khan with the victorious army for their help.

At the same time Ghazi-ud-Din Khan and Rustam Khan, who had been sent for the conquest of the forts of Bijapur, arrived at the court after accomplishing the task, entrusted to them. According to the imperial orders, they also rode post haste and joined the imperial forces there. Thus, the right and left wings, were strengthened. But in view of the fact that short-sighted insurgents did not retreat, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan from one side and Rustam Khan from the other with their brave warriors drove their elephants into the rank of the enemy and attempted unity to put them to flight and fierce conflict ensued. Rustam Khan received one spear wound at his neck and one on his arm and also the elephant on which he was mounted fell down because of its wounds, its trunk having been cut into two. Two more elephants also perished there. What to speak of men. When the battle was raging Qilij Khan and Sarbuland Khan very boldly and courageously entered the fray. After much fighting, the rebels took to their heels. The victorious soldiers went on in their hot pursuit up to three *karohs* and succeeded

in capturing booty (from them). Thereafter, they returned to the exalted presence (fol. 112b) and paid their respects there. The Emperor duly honoured each of them with royal favours.

From the petition (arz-dasht) of Ruhullah Khan, the *subedar* of Bijapur, the Emperor was given to understand that his appointee, Habib Ullah Khan, the *thanadar* of Indapur, had taken the charge of the fort of Shahpur, but the army of the accursed (Sambha,) which roamed in various directions, laid a siege to the fort and took possession of it. Thereafter, it carried the Khan as prisoner.

The Emperor learnt from the report of the *harkara* that Akbar, the rebel, with the help of Raghubir Khandu, brother of Tukaram Trimbak, the *zamindar* of the area (jawar) had entered the territory of the Portuguese (farangis) and wanted to go to Hindustan. Accordingly, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah was ordered to proceed with all haste to bar his way so that he might not be able to cross (the sea).

The *harkaras* reported to the Emperor that Nur Muhammad, the *thanadar* of Sanghula, came into conflict with Sambha's men, who outnumbered him. The Khan found himself not in a position to resist, and retreated. The enemy rushed at him with all impudence and took him prisoner.

'Receipt of the news of the going of the servants of Prince Shah Alam Bahadur (fol. 113a) into the territory of Shivaji through the Darogha-i-Ghusal Khana.'

Hayat Khan, the *Darogha-i-Ghusal Khana* reported that "Muhammad Ali, the *Darogha-i-harkaras* has reported that the *harkaras* sent in the territory of the wretched and the accursed, Sambha, to bring news from different corners, given out that they had seen the men of Prince Shah Alam Bahadur in the land of the said wretched rebel. It is also heard that the wretched rebel has been instigated by the

Prince to create trouble and disturbance by sending his own troops and (with this encouragement) he enters into conflict with the imperial army." Hearing the above report, the Emperor was much perturbed. He (the Emperor) ordered Bahramand Khan to send a few mace-bearers (gurz-bardars) to the territory of the accursed rebel (Sambha) with the instructions that they should reside there and in case they find any person, belonging to the imperial army (in that region), they should bring him captive in the presence of His Majesty.

Within a few days of the enforcement of the said order of the Emperor by the Khan, his mace-bearers brought three such persons to the imperial court. They were handed over for investigation and when they were interrogated, they procrastinated. Therefore orders were issued for their physical torture, but they bore it all, and did not reveal anything. The investigation was carried on. During the investigation a few letters, addressed to the wretched (Sambha), bearing the seal of the Prince were recovered (from them), which were placed before the Emperor and he himself **(fol. 113b)** perused them. The Emperor had not been favourably inclined towards the Prince since the latter's behaviour in connection with the affairs of Qutbul-Mulk Abul Hasan, the ex-ruler of Golconda, and Sikander, these ruler of Bijapur in concert with whom he (the Prince) had tried to upset the state affairs. The present report made the Emperor much more worried and resentful.

So Hayat Khan was ordered to convey to the Prince that "he should everyday put in his appearance along with the soldiers of special post (khas chauki) and special parade (*zulu-i-khas*) and Saf Shikan Khan, who had been sent to chastise the rebels (the Marathas). Besides it, Ihtamam Khan, Zabardast Khan and Abdul Hameed Khan were sent to keep a watch on everything and be alert. It was also ordered that "in the early morning all the soldiers and the mace-bearers, in the service of the Prince, present themselves before the Emperor."

The next morning, as the Sun dawned, His Majesty took his seat on the throne. Jamdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, Mukhtar Khan, Ilahwardi Khan, Qamruddin Khan, Hasan Ali Khan and other high nobles (amirs) of seven post (haft chaukis), fully armed, arrived in the court and everyone was surpassing the other and there was a big crowd. Quite a large number of officers had performed their *kurnish* (there).

After the first quarter (pahar) of the day Hayat Khan was ordered to go and bring the Prince, in whatever condition he might be, and usher him in the presence of His Majesty. Thus, Hayat Khan (fol. 114a), obeying the exalted orders, went into the camp of the Prince and brought him with Prince Sultan Muiz-ud-Din and Prince Sultan Azim-ud-Din (the sons of Shah Alam) in the presence of His Majesty. They performed the custom of *kurnish* and had hardly occupied their seats, when Jamdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan, under the instructions of the Emperor asked the Prince and the Princes to go to the *Tasbih Khana* as some of the important affairs were to be discussed (with them) and decisions were also to be taken (there). (In short) all this was performed according to the instructions of the Emperor.

The Prince and his sons (the Princes) were already depressed at the attitude of the court and the large gathering of the (fully armed) soldiers. When they heard the submission of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan, they became frightened and perturbed. They, however, went into the *Tasbih Khana*... Jumdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan conveyed to them verbatim the pieces of advice and admonition that had fallen from the lips of the Emperor and added that to follow them would lead to perpetual happiness and eternal felicity. After that under the orders of the Emperor, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan entered the *Tasbih Khana* and said that the Emperor had ordered that they should remove daggers from their girdles and surrender them to him. Without murmur the Prince, in full obedience to the orders, removed the dagger from his girdle and surrendered it (to the Khan). But the Princes (fol. 114b) did not

only hesitate, but were slightly agitated. The Prince comforted them by saying, "There is no need to be perturbed. The occasion demands patience." Thus, both the Princes removed their girdles and surrendered their daggers (khanjars) to the Khan.

Thus, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan brought the Prince alongwith the Princes in the presence of the Emperor, who ordered that "a tent, with ten inner apartments (*sarachas*) be pitched in Salabt Bari. There the Prince may be permitted to stay with one wife and the Princess with one servant each. The servants of the state should conduct them out of the audience hall (diwan-i-khas-o-am) and the imperial soldiers should be posted to guard their quarters." The imperial orders were obeyed.

The Emperor, after finishing the work in the special chamber (diwan-i-khas), sent the (captured) letters through Hayat Khan to the Prince (for reading). The Khan was ordered to bring them (letters) back after their perusal by the Prince and to convey the following counsel that, "there is no remedy for one's own action. Whatever one sees, it is of his own creation." Thus, Hayat Khan brought the latters and placed them before the Prince and the latter, after their perusal got unnerved and pleaded for pardon. Hayat Khan brought back the letters and handed them over to the Emperor.

Orders were issued that Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur and other nobles (amirs) should remain in the audience hall (diwan-i-khas-o-am) fully accented and that Bahramand Khan and Mukhtar Khan should keep watch outside the audience hall and Ihtasham Khan should take care of the entrance (devdhi) of the Prince and should also confiscate all the movable and immovable property, the stores (karkhanajats) with horses, elephants etc. (fol. 115a) The title of Shah Alam was cancelled. The secretaries (dabirs) of the departments of Muhammad Muiz-ud-Din, who had written (these) letters, Shakir Khan, Shaikh Ibrahim, Abdus-Samad

and all other attendants including four Khwaja Saras and Shyam Singh, the *wakil*, who were responsible for the wrong thinking of the Prince, were also imprisoned.

After this occurrence some of the faithful servants of the empire, who had enjoyed great confidence of the Emperor submitted that, "it is not the fault of the Prince but owing to the instigation of some short-sighted, ill advised and mischief-mongers he has acted in a wrong manner. The Empire, which is under the sublime protection of God, cannot be harmed by the mechanisation of the evil-mongers. Both Golconda and Bijapur expeditions continued for a long period and every day presented a peculiar phase but this did not prevent their conquests." In the end, after this submission, it was suspected that Shakir Khan was responsible for those instigations. The Emperor told the obedient servants that, "tell, Shakir Khan, if you care for your own life and position, you should reveal full details about the instigators of the Prince and also divulge the names of the persons who are in conspiracy. If you are the originator, in that case, he (the Emperor) pardons you. But you have to give the names of others and divulge the whole conspiracy (**fol. 115b**). In case you do not do it (the demanded things) you would be the recipient of the wrath of sovereignty, which is an example of God's wrath."

When inquiries were made from Shakir Khan, he completely denied the allegation saying that: "I do not have any knowledge of the affair." On the submission of the Khan that: "all efforts to terrorise Shakir Khan (to divulge the secret) have proved a failure and beyond denying the allegation, he does not say anything and swears in a very filthy manner." The Emperor said, "He (Shakir Khan) has been a constant companion of the Prince. Put him under deuce and ask him, who holds responsibility of it and (what have been the reasons)." The Khan took Shakir Khan to the abode of punishment (siasatgah) and threatened the latter in every manner but except denial, nothing came out." Thereafter, by the orders of the Emperor, Shakir Khan was

handed over to Ihtamam Khan, who severely admonished (him) but except denial to which his tongue had become accustomed, he uttered nothing. Ihtamam Khan submitted that all tactics of pressures had been used but that person (Shakir Khan) kept on refusing to follow the right path. The Emperor said : "He (Shakir) is a shameless person. Keep him in prison for some time." Thereafter, the Emperor ordered that, "the Prince may be allowed the concession of usual food and dress after a month." But Momin Beg and Bindra Ban, the servants of the Prince, imprisoned in Aurangabad, should be confined in the fort of Daulatabad.[23]

The petition (arz-dasht) of the Abdul Karim, the *zamindar* of Mahajan Penth **(fol. 116a)** was placed before the Emperor indicating that "the fort Ram Sej has been captured with the help of God and (by) the grace of the Emperor and it has passed under the effective control of the servants of the everlasting empire." As he (Abdul Karim) had worked very hard in the attainment of this objective and had exercised great diligence also, the Emperor bestowed upon him a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), made an increase of 500 in his *mansab* with Rs. 10,000/- (ten thousand) cash as reward (inam) with an elephant and a studded *jamdhar*.

'Conquest of the fort of Salhir with the worthy efforts of Neknam Khan, the commandant of Malhir.'

In the earlier period Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, Dilir Khan, Raja Rai Singh, Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi and other distinguished nobles (amirs) with a huge army, were sent from the court for the conquest of the fort of Salhir, which was one of the strongest and elevated forts of the Baklana region; and although for a long period, they exerted themselves to the utmost, it could not be conquered. Time had been set for the accomplishment of every work, so the high nobles (amirs) had to return disappointed without conquering it.

At last Neknam Khan, the commandant of Malhir, who

was one of the renowned, intelligent and farsighted persons, thought to himself that, "though the fort could not be conquered by the respectful nobles (amirs) I should contrive in such a manner that it should come under the possession of the servants of the Empire and I may be praised for good service." With this end in view the aforesaid Khan sent to the commandant of Salhir two or three men (fol. 11b) who knew how to talk cleverly and also could understand the implications of the matter in hand and thus he laid the foundation of mutual goodwill and friendship. And within a short time he strengthened the relations of sincerity and goodwill to the utmost by sending various kinds of gifts and presents and so at times helped him with gold, silver and Iraqi and Turkish horses etc. And when he had fully won over the heart of that wild-beast of prey he sent him a message enticing him with honours and high rank if he entered the imperial service. Thus Krishnaji, who had seen the promotion of the Deccanies in the imperial service with *mansab* and high posts, which had fulfilled their hearty desires, came and joined the Khan. So the Khan sent a petition (arz-dasht), recommending a *mansab* of 3,000/2,000 zat and sawars (for Krishnaji) together with the golden key (of the fort) to the imperial court." When they were placed before the Emperor, he was immensely pleased, and praised and appreciated the good services of the Khan by saying that "such a person can be called a man of wit and wisdom and who, without a military campaign and without the loss of a single life, has accomplished such a difficult task so easily." In the end, the great nobles (amirs) offered congratulations to the Emperor. According to the suggestion of the Khan, the Emperor awarded the *mansab* of 3,000/2,000 zat and sawars (fol. 117a) to Krishnaji and a *jagir* in the same land. Neknam Khan received an increase of 500/500 zat and sawars in his *mansab*. On him was also bestowed the honour of flag (alam). Mirza Farrukh Beg, a *mansabdar* of 500 *zat* was appointed the commandant of the fort and was given leave to go there. The fort of Salhir was renamed Sultangarh.[84]

Meanwhile, by the late afternoon the *harkaras* reported (to the Emperor) that with evil intention a large force of the wretched rebels had collected at a distance of four *karohs* from the imperial camp. Therefore, the Emperor sent Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Ilahwardi Khan, Zulfiqar Khan, Mukhlis Khan, Abdu-s-Samad Khan, Nizam-uddin Khan, Sultan Ali Khan, Kishore Singh Hada, Rai Singh and other high grandees with the instructions to chastise those ill-fated and evil-natured rebels before they get the upper hand. By the time the aforesaid Khans and other nobles (amirs) were able to arrange their horses (sawars), all of a sudden the Sun cast crest the mouth of evening over the shoulders of the day. Taking advantage of it, the dark-hearted and short-sighted rebels divided themselves into four groups and made their appearance before the victorious army. But as the night had spread its curtain of darkness and had prevented the victorious army from taking to horn, the accursed enemy also could not dare any further and it dispersed in various directions. But the foe-seeing imperial nobles (amirs), having no faith in the retreat of the mischief-mongers, remained fully armed the whole night. Next morning as the Sun dawned, the wretched persons, suddenly attacked the imperial army with imprudence (fol. 117b). 'The soldiers of Islam,' who were in their saddles, challenged them (then and there). The evil-intentioned also boldly attacked the imperial army. The soldiers of the imperial army joined the battle with courage and the battle started. The enemy took great risk and some of their followers, having no courage to face the victorious army, turned their reins back. Seeing this, Kishore Singh Hada, accompanied by his son, other followers and the imperial soldiers, courageously attacked the retreating rebels and killed a large number of them with lances (barchis) and swords. Thus, the day of the life of the wretched enemy was turned into death. Ram Singh and Harnath Singh, the sons of Kishore Singh Hada with 40 (forty) persons from among the selected Rajputs, succumbed to death. Kesar Singh and Muhkam Singh, his grandson (Kishwer) also fell in the battle-field with 70 (seventy) Rajputs (fol. 118a). At this juncture Nizam-

uddin Khan, *the brother of Saf Shikan* Khan, joined the battle with some of his experienced soldiers but he, getting injured died there. Mehdi Ali Khan, the son of Sultan Ali Khan, like a brave man, having been wounded, fell down alongwith other imperial soldiers.

The battle had reached a critical pitch and the imperial soldiers were very hard pressed (by the enemy). The Emperor, therefore, himself decided to join the battle. He ordered his elephant to be made ready for this purpose. But before the Emperor could get his elephant, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Hameed-uddin Khan, Mujahid Khan and other imperial servants, accompanied by the horsemen (sawars), spurred their horses and attacked the dark-hearted rebels with arrows and killed a large number of them. In short, the shower of arrows worked havoc in the rank and file of the enemy. They could not withstand the attack and saved their lives by scattering themselves on all sides. In this situation the wind of victory and success began to blow over the fortunate banner and the sound of success became very loud. Khan Firoze Jang Khan Bahadur and other high nobles (amirs) (fol. 118b), presenting themselves before the Emperor, performed the rites of *kurnish* and illuminated their temples with sincerity and devotion. His Majesty, the shadow of God, himself, praising their deeds, bestowed *mansabs*, robes (khilats) (upon them), horses and swords, according to their merits.

During the same period, the secret news-writer (Khufia Navis) of Prince Alijah Muhammad Azam Shah reported to the Emperor that through the *harkara* the news had been brought that Durgadas Rathor had boarded Akbar, the rebel, on a ship (to sail), while he, separating himself from him (Akbar), had crossed the Narbada river (nahar) and had gone to Badawar and Ratlam. There, he had been joined by the ill-natured, Akhraj. For three or four days, Durgadas kept him (Akhraj) with himself. So Mir Khan, the *subedar* of Ujjain, was asked to investigate the matter and report to the Emperor.

The petition (arz-dasht) of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah with the golden key of the fort of Harchand, in the territory (*taluqa*) of the accursed Sambha, was received at the court. The Emperor saw both the things and praised the Prince for it. From the report of Motamid Khan, the *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat, His Majesty came to know that Akbar, the rebel, having emerged out of the desert of disappointment, had reached the Muscet Port. The Emperor ordered that it should be recorded in the official record (waqa-i). Meanwhile, the report of Yaqut Khan, the commandant of Dandrajpuri (**fol. 119a**), was submitted to the Emperor indicating that Akbar, the rebel, had reached the port of Muscet and that its incharge consoled him (Akbar) saying that, "I am proposing to send an envoy to the exalted Majesty, requesting him to forgive your faults." Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, "who has been pursuing the rebel, Akbar, was ordered to return to the imperial court," and he boarded a ship accordingly.

The despatch of the reporter (waqa-i-nigar) of Bundel Khand said that, "Debi Singh, the son of unfaithful Pahad Singh Gaur, joining hands with the sons of Champat Singh Bundela, plundered the territories (parganas) of the *Khalisa Sharifa* and other dependencies (*taluqas*) of the area. Ganga Ram, the mischief-monger, who was the deputy (naib) of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, had collected a large number of riff raffs in the vicinity of *Sarkar-i-Kalpi* and that taking an obscure person had declared him to be Akbar and unleashed devastation, which had plunged the creation of God into great distress." Therefore, orders were issued to the *faujdars* (of the area) to take stern action against them, suppress their insurgence, trace the faked wretch and make a short shrift of him.

During the same period (**fol. 119b**), Haji Abdullah, the servant of Mujahid Khan, came and presented the petition (arz-dasht) of the Khan saying that, "the disrespectful Abdul Aziz had come and encamped at a distance of five *karohs*

from Udgir. Receiving the news, I, the faithful (Mujahid Khan) accompanied by my force hurriedly reached there. By chance during the encounter, it started raining heavily and the area was flooded. The rebels, having no courage to face the imperial army and considering the retreat better, turned towards Udgir. The faithful (Mujahid Khan) followed them. The hour I reached near them, they turned back and began to fly away. The experienced soldiers of the imperial army engaged themselves heroically and the black fated persons could not face their swords and they retreated into the small citadel of (Arak). Upon this the brave warriors, taking the citadel midway, made the insurgents as targets of arrows and muskets. The latter marched to take their stand in the citadel, and considering escape to be the better part of valour dispersed hither and thither. The experienced persons (of the imperial army) captured 150 (one hundred and fifty) horses and 100 (hundred) camels from them." The Emperor conferred a robe (khilat) upon Haji Abdullah with Rs.500 (five hundred) reward (inam) in cash and the Khan (Mujahid Khan) was honoured by a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) and studded dagger (fol. 120a).

Meanwhile the petition (arz-daht) of Muqarab Khan was received at the imperial court saying that "the forts of Kolas and Nalkanda, which are among the most famous and the greatest forts in the Carnatic, have been captured by the exertions of the Khan. After their capture, the inhabitants (riaya), who had been wandering to and from in distress, was consoled by the Khan and they had come back to their places." Therefore, orders were issued to the imperial *diwans* that, "the palaces (mahals), which might be worth inclusion the *Khalisa Sharifa*, should be included, while the rest be given to the Khan, his sons and followers in lien.

It was reported that Prince Muhammad Azam Shah had reached the precinct of the imperial camp. So the Emperor ordered that, "Prince Kam Bakhsh, Bakshi-ul-Mulk Ruhul-lah Khan and other renowned and distinguished nobles (amirs), with their standards. should go forward to welcome

them." It was done as ordered. The Princes of the sea of fame and Sultanat saw each other and getting down from their mounts, they embraced each other. Thereafter, the nobles (amirs) paid their respects to Prince Muhammad Azam. When they reached the entrance (devdhi) of the *Ghusal Khana*, the Emperor, who was sitting in the *Tasbih Khana*, sent Mukhlis Khan, Zulfiqar Khan, Kamgar Khan and other prominent nobles (amirs) to the gate of the audience hall (khas-o-am) (fol. 120b) to welcome them again. At last, the Prince after two quarters (*pahars*) of the day paid respects to the Emperor. The Prince presented 1,000 (one thousand) *mohars* as *nazr* and 1,000 (one thousand) as *nisar*. The Emperor, placed his hands on his forehead and bestowed various presents upon him that is, a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), a studded sarpech, worth Rs. 1,00,000 (one lakh), *kamarband* worth Rs. 50,000 (fifty thousand), five elephants, fifty horses, twelve out of them with gold trappings. Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh also received a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) and a horse with enamelled trappings.

'The intention of Durgadas to attack Shahjahanabad'

From the reports (waqa-i) of *Shahjahanabad* it was transpired at the court that "Durgadas, with a large army of the Rajputs, had ransacked some territories (parganas) of the dependency (*taluqa*) of *mowat* and with evil-intentions, he was marching towards Shahjahanabad also." Therefore the Nazim of the province (subah) of Shajahanabad, Muhammad Aqil Khan, who had been ready with 4,000 (four thousand) horsemen (sawars) (to face him), sent his son, Abdul Hai Khan, who was the *Bakshi of the province* (suba), to chastise the rebel. When Abdul Hai was at a distance of two *karohs* from the mischief-mongers, they fled and marched off towards Sirhind.

'Rahim Dad Khan's Rebellion'

From the reports (waqa-i) of Bijapur, it was learnt that "Rahim Dad Khan, a servant of the devil, Sambha (fol. 121a),

had ransacked the vicinity of Panchamgarh and had been indulging in plunder and ruin there. Therefore, Ihtisham Khan and Naroji Raghu challenged him. In the end, a bloody battle took place in which 2,000 (two thousand) soldiers perished on either side. After this heroic performance, the brave men were able to take him prisoner." It was ordered that he (Rahim Dad Khan) should be sent to the Emperor's presence.

After this Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur presented there the golden keys of three forts, one of them for Karnaul, situated on the other side of river Krishna, which was in the dependency (*taluqa*) of Adhoni, and which had been conquered with the efforts and exertions of Qamaruddin Khan ; the second of the fort Udhila, which had been conquered by the efforts of Muttabir Khan, and the third which had been conquered by Abdul Khair Khan. Every one of them was praised and applauded and the fort of Karnaul was renamed Qamargadh.

'Akbar's visit to the Shah of Persia'

It was brought to the notice of the illustrious Emperor that Akbar, the rebel, had spent two or three months in the port of Muscet. Later, he petitioned to the ruler of Iran, Sulaiman Shah for help. Accordingly, the Shah of Iran ordered the incharge (*hakim*) *of Bandar-i-Abbas*, which was a dependency of the country of Iran, that he should send thirteen small boats (gharabs) to the port of Muscet to bring Muhammad Akbar. It was also ordered that upto Iraq, he should be treated with all respects due to royalty. All the *Nazims* and the *faujdars* **(fol. 121b)** were required to entertain him lavishly in their palaces (mahals) and escort him safely to their respective boundaries. Thereafter, the news writer (sawan-i-nigar) of the dominion of Iran reported to the Shah the arrival of Akbar to the illustrious Shah. According to the orders of the Shah (of Persia), the *subedar* of that place presented 130 (one hundred and thirty) Arabi and Iraqi horses with full trappings to Akbar, who wanted to send some

of them to the ill-starred, Sambha. But it was made clear by the Nazim that their despatch without the consent of the Shah would not be advisable. In short, Akbar started for Isfahan. When he was about to enter the city, the Shah sent forward his Diwan, Begi to receive him. In the assembly hall two carpets (masnads) were spread. At last when Akbar reached the assembly hall, the Shah came out of his palace and embraced him (Akbar). The Shah told Akbar to sit on the carpet (masnad), but the latter took his seat at a corner of the carpet. The Shah inquired about his affairs, Akbar stood up and submitted "This illustrious family had helped Humayun Badshah and if the same help is extended to me, I hope that my objective would be similarly achieved." To this the Shah replied, "I shall provide you a larger and better equipped army than given to Humayun Shah. Be at ease (fol. 122a) in every way. Then taking hold of Akbar's hand, the Shah seated the former on the carpet saying "I shall place you on the throne (of Hindustan)." After some time, Akbar made another submission saying, "If equipments and soldiers be given to me, I shall immediately leave for Hindustan." Thereupon, the Shah remarked, "To do so in the life-time of his father (Aurangzeb) would be against the holy *Shariat*. God willing, when the time comes all possible efforts shall be made to bring the things to their logical conclusion."[85]

'The disturbance created by Durjan Singh Hada'

The news conveyed to the Emperor that Durjan Singh Hada had created disturbance in the town (qasba) of Lundhaira, which was the birth place of Anurudh Singh Hada, who had an enmity with him. He raided the place and carried away as booty a large sum of money. Thereafter with a big army, he ransacked all their territories (parganas) of Baran and Barodh, situated near the vicinity of the fort of Ranthambor, Talpur, Tonk and Toda. He ransacked all their territories (parganas) and then he marched towards Marwar and there, joining hands with Durgadas Rathor, he went

and plundered the dependencies (parganas) of Mahim, Rohtak, Rewari, which were the dependencies of the province (suba) of the capital, Shahjahanabad. Taking away much booty in the shape of cash, he wended his way back to Marwar. Upon this Inayat Ullah Khan, the *subedar* of Jodhpur, pursued him. Durjan Singh, finding resistence impossible, ran away. As the death of Durjan Singh was approaching round the corner, he later went to the dependency of (pargana) Mandal, intending to sack it. There a caravan of the *Banjaras* (travelling grain dealers) **(fol. 122b)** was encamped. Durjan Singh was attacked by them (the Banjaras) and a battle with bows and muskets began. Meanwhile, Dindar Khan the *faujdar* of Mandal and Raghunath Singh, the servant of Anurudh Singh Hada, arrived there and joined in the battle. By chance a bullet struck Durjan Singh Hada and he died on the spot.[36]

During the same period, from the report (waqa-i) of province (suba) of Bengal it was reported to the court that, "Bhawanidas, son of Raja Todarmal, who was the deputy (naib) of Amir-ul-Umara, chastised the zamindar of Kuch Bihar, expelled him and seized his house and possessions. He was staying there with his 4,000 (four thousand) horsemen (sawars) when a severe fire broke out and the whole of the army was engulfed in it. Not a soul was left alive. (The said incident) provided an opportunity for the expelled *zamindar*, who was wandering in the hills to recover the possessions of the fort and other things.

Meanwhile, orders were issued that, "the forts of the accursed, Sambha, which the imperial army has captured, for purpose of administration be arranged like this i.e. the forts on this side of the river Bhimra, should be incorporated in the province (suba) of Aurangabad and the forts or the other side of Bhimra should be included in the province (*suba*) of Bijapur **(fol. 123a)**.

'The Arrival of the victorious army in Bijapur and the receipt of the news of the conquest of fort of Adhoni'

The Emperor decided to go to the *daru zafar*, Bijapur. Therefore, at an auspicious hour, fixed by expert astrologers, he left for it. After covering the long distance, within a period of 25 days, he entered in the region of Bijapur which was transformed into heaven by his entrance. Ruhulla Khan, the *Nazim* of the province (suba) and other nobles (*amirs*) posted there, greeted the Emperor and observed the customs of *nazr* and *nisar* (there).[37]

As there was scarcity of water, the Emperor ordered that, "a channel should be dug from the river Krishna into the fort of Bijapur so that the creation of the Almighty may be saved from suffering." Thereafter Sayied Hasan, Mushrif ul-Asham, according to the exalted orders, prepared the estimate of expenditure, amounting to Rs. 35,000 (thirty five thousand). The memorandum was placed before the Emperor who ordered that the required amount be paid from the imperial exchequer.[38]

'The conquest of fort of Adhoni'

At an auspicious time the fort of Adhoni was captured by the imperial army which was a dependency of Bijapur. The details of the conquest are given below: "The fort of Adhoni, which is one of the most beautiful and fortified forts, has no parrallel and it has been in the possession of Sidi Masud. Again and again it was brought to the notice of the Emperor that (**fol. 123b**) unfortunate person (Masud) had retraced his feet from the path of faithfulness and that, collecting a large force of the mischief-mongers, had raised the standard of rebellion and had also posted a contingent of troops at the bank of river (Krishna) for the disruption of supply line of grain to the imperial army."[39]

In view of this Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, accompanied by his army, left for his chastisement. (reaching there)

he encamped at a distance of twenty *karohs* from Adhoni. Every day the rebel forces clashed with the imperial army. (Moreover) the high prices of grains created problems for the imperial army, which kept on increasing and, at last, passed all bounds. Thereupon, pre-emptory orders were issued by the Emperor to Fath Jang Khan and Rustam Khan to march with a large force quickly to join the Khan (Ghazi-ud-Din) and chastise the sedition of Sidi Masud. As soon as the Khan (Fath Jang Khan) approached the rebels, who were engaged in fighting, they found themselves unable to offer resistance and took to their heels. Thereafter, Khan Firoze Jang Khan sent Rustam Khan to conquer the fort of Sancholi and Fath Jang Khan to conquer the fort of Harkomar, which were the base of supply to the fort of Adhoni. Both the Khans reached their respective destinations and after much fighting, captured both the forts and sent their petitions (arz-dashts) with the keys of the forts to the Emperor. (Thereafter), the Emperor appointed both of them the commandants of the respective forts, captured by them.

After the capture of the said forts differences cropped up among the followers of Sidi Masud (fol. 124a) and he lost his earlier supremacy there. Meanwhile Khan Firoze Jang, after combining his forces with those of the two Khans, (Rustam Khan and Fath Jang Khan) arrived near the fort of Adhoni, encamped at a distance of one *karoh* from it and began to prepare for its assault. He started his preparations by laying mines and constructing a covered alley. Seeing all this, the Sidi was greatly perturbed and found no way out to escape. Considering death to be certain, he decided to risk a fight. Thus, he collected a large number of soldiers, and began the conflict. Meanwhile, Khan Firoze Jang Bahadur chalked out his plan of action on the following lines: "With a band of experienced soldiers, he hid himself in the cluster of trees and despatched Muhammad Saleh, one of his confident to take position on the other side of the fort with a band of cavaliers (sawars) to fight the enemy." (In short) when the forces under the leadership of the above-named commander, descending the hills, made themselves

visible, the rebels seeing the small number of the imperial army, spurred their horses and attacked it. The brave soldiers (of the imperial army) remained steady and after the arrival of enemy they spurred on their horses towards their camp. Immediately, the enemy pursued them. When they had entered the plain, from one side they were attacked by the Khan and from the other by Muhammad Saleh (fol. 124b). The slaughter of the rebels began and Muhammad Saleh died fighting bravely with 150 (one hundred and fifty) men, and quite a large number were injured also. On the rebel's side, countless number was killed or wounded like sheep while the rest saved their lives with great difficulties and dispersed in all sides.

When the Emperor was informed about the success, he conferred a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon Firoze Jang Khan, a studded dagger, an aigrette, a studded *purkhanah*, an elephant and two horses, while Rustam Khan and Fath Jang Khan, received robes (khilats) and horses respectively. The Emperor appointed Khan Firoze Jang and Rustam Khan with a suitable force for the clearance of the jungle with specific orders that "upto four *karohs*, no tree should be left within the said area around the fort so that the rebels might not be able to take shelter there. Further orders were issued to chase them upto fifteen *karohs* and imprison them with their families. As the wretched rebels had been laying their hands on the supply of grain to Bijapur, so between Adhoni and Bijapur, which had a distance of sixty *karohs*, four posts (thanas) were established at the distance of fifteen *karohs* (fol. 125a) each so that journey (in the region) could be performed peacefully." When the imperial army reached near the fort of Adhoni, it arrested the wives, children and relations of the musketeers, who were defending it. Watching the situation, one of the chiefs (sardars) of the musketeers approached Khan Firoze Jang Khan and, having given word of honour, he came in person and submitted that "If our families remain at one place undisturbed and their honour is preserved, we will open the gate of the fort and surrender it to the imperial force. After its occupation, let

our families be restored to us." Khan Firoze Jang Khan satisfied him on all the counts.

When a *harkara* reported this to Sidi Masud, he was much perplexed and saw no other alternative except that of tendering submission. Therefore, he sent one of his confidents to the Khan to submit a petition (arz-dasht), "requesting that he be favoured with a farman inscribed with a *panja* (five fingers) of the Emperor and upon its receipt, he would surrender the fort to the Khan. He further requested the Khan to recommend to the Emperor that some territory in the Deccan be assigned to him, where he could reside with his large family in comfort and peace. He also held out assurance of loyalty and fidelity." Thereafter, Sidi Khan Muhammad, son of Sidi Masud, came to the Khan and paid his respects to him and surrendered the key of fort (fol. 125b).[40] In short the aforesaid Khan consoled him, removed all fears of his heart and addressed him as son. Placing the hand of protection, he assured him of forgiveness and sent the following message to the Sidi. "A petition (arz-dasht), including all your requests, I am forwarding to the presence of His Majesty. Till the arrival of the reply and the acceptance of your requests please remain in the fort."

(Thereafter) the petition (arz-dasht) of the Khan conveying, the conquest of the fort, its golden key and the request of Sidi alongwith 1,000 (one thousand) *mohars* as *nazr* and *nisar* was despatched to the imperial court." When these were presented to the Emperor, he issued an order (*farman*) to the Khan "decorating it with his *panja-i-mubarak* and containing the assurances, and granting tamgha of the fort of Mudgil as the *Watandari* of his fellows. Abdu-s-Samad, mace-bearer, was assigned to hand it over to Sidi Masud, who was given the *mansab* of 7,000/5,000 (zat and sawars), his son, Sidi Khan Muhammad of 5,000/3,000 (zat and sawars) (fol. 126a) and in the same way his other followers were also given suitable *mansabs* according to their posts." Khan Firoze Jang sent the imperial *farman* with the

Sanad to the Sidi, who performing the rites of *kurnish* and *taslims*, received the imperial *farman* (*the Sanad of Alie Tamgha*), a robe (khilat) and a horse.[41] He gave 2,000 (two thousand) *huns* to the mace-bearer as service-charge (khidmatana) and then he came out of the fort to see the Khan. Hearing the report of Sidi Masud had coming out of the fort, the Khan arranged a big assembly, where all prominent nobles (amirs), fully armed, stood in their respective places. When Sidi Masud reached near the tent, Khan Firoze Jang advanced for half the distance of the carpet, embraced him and made him sit on his own carpet. Till one quarter (pahar), the assembly continued and all sort of eatables, drinks and fruits were served. At the end of the day, he was allowed to go. Thereafter Khan Firoz Jang, accompanied by Rustam Khan, Fath Jang Khan and other nobles (amirs) visited the fort and permitted Sidi Masud to leave for the fort of *Mudgil*. Sidi Masud started for his destination but he left his son, Sidi Khan, other followers and relations in the service of Khan Firoze Jang. **(fol. 126b).** When the good news reached the Emperor, he conferred a robe of honour (khilat-i-fakhra) upon the Khan with studded crown (sarpech), an elephant and two horses and made increases in the *mansabs* of other nobles (amirs) also. On the occasion of the grand success, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah presented 1,000 (gold coins) (asharafis) and other high nobles (amirs) also presented their *nazr* and *nisar* according to their status. The drums of success were sounded to its celebration.

The fort of Adhoni, in strength resembles the wall of Sikandar, is situated at the top of a hill. Its length was about 7½ *karohs*, with 4½ *karohs* its elevation from the ground to its peak is more than 2 *karohs*. On its sides there was a thick jungle. During the reign of Ali Adil Shah, Sidi Masud was the chief administrator (Wazir-i-Mutlaq), and the *Sipah-salar* of the kingdom of Bijapur. In his tenure, he administered the territory with dexterity, performed his duties with all care and maintained law and order there. Before the fall of the empire, Sharza Khan Afghan interferred

in his duties of the *Wizarat* and worked against him. Sharza Khan did his level best to finish the Sidi but (the former) could not succeed (**fol. 127a**) In short, the rule passed from the family of Sikander Khan.

At last, the Emperor appointed Rao Dalpat Bundela, the commandant of the fort of *Adhoni* and gave him permission to proceed there. Thus he, reaching the fort, engaged himself in performing his usual duties. Khan Firoze Jang and other nobles (amirs) came to the court and paid their respects to the "*Khalifah of the World*," according to the imperial orders.[42]

FOOT NOTES

1. According to Saqi and Zubairi, "The Emperor left Sholapur on 14th June, 1686 A.D. and reached Rasulpur, three kos from Bijapur on 3rd. July". *M.A.* 276; *Basatin, 604* & Bhim Sen, II, 100a.

2. The text reads : *Wuqu Amde* which is wrong. It should be *Wuqu Na Amde*, which seems copyist's mistake.

3. A verse has been left out. See *fol. 98b.* Other sources are silent about it.

4. The text reads, Ghaz-Uddin Khan not Ghaziu-Din Khan. A mistake of copyist.

5. On Sat. the 14th Shaban (26th June 1686) Prince Muhammad Azam Shah and Prince Bidar Bakht had audience and received robes (khilats). Firoze Jang Bahadur paid his respects at Rasulpur, three kos from Bijapur". *M.A. 276-77.*

6. "Prince Azam arrives close to the fort of Bijapur (29th June, 1685 A.D.) and infused more vigour into the siege". Ibid., 262; "The noise was of explosion and its sound was heard distinctly at Naldrug, 39 kos off". Bhim Sen, II, 101a.

7. The official history and *Nuskhai-Dilkusha*, whose authors were present in the camp are silent about it. See also K.K.II, 317.

8. Some of the secret courtiers were executed. See *M.A. 293* and K.K. II, 320-21.

9. K.K. also mentions that the Emperor was dissatisfied with Prince Muhammad Azam's progress so he himself started at the beginning of Shahban in the twenty eight year of the reign, he got out for Sholapur, and on the 21st. of the month he arrived before the fortress to the great dismay of the besieged. K.K. II, 318. *M.A. 261.*

10. "The Emperor appointed several of his best officers to assist the Prince in carrying the siege and addressed to them some soul-stiring words. They set heartily to work, constructing line of approach, driving mines and filling up the ditch". K.K. II, 319.

11. Verses have been left out. See *folios 101b and 102a.*

12. "Abdur Rauf and Sharza Khan come to interview after surrender of Sikander and each receiving a robe (khilat), a sword, a jewelled dagger with pearl, ilaqa, a horse with golden trappings and the rank of 6000/6000 zat & sawars. The first was entitled Dilir Khan the second Rustam Khan." *M.A. 280.*

13. "As the imperial warriors had collected in two months and twelve days all the material necessary for destroying the enemy, Sikander and his companion, seeing death near begged pardon for their faults and cried for quarters. On Sunday, the 4th Zil. Q. A.H. 1097, the fort was captured by Alamgir, and all the people of the country high and low, were glorified by coming under the Emperor's rule". *M.A. 279, 280 ; Dilkusha, II, 101b ; Basatin, 605-607 ; Jedhe (SS), 30.*

14. On 11th September 1686 A.D. Abdul Rauf Khan came from Sikander Adil Shah of Bijapur and visited Firoze Jang and settled the terms of peace with the Mughals". *Basatin, 607.*

15. "The Emperor graciously accepted the prayer of Sikander, who thus escaped the imperial wrath (for his misdeeds). He was granted an interview in the Public Audience hall and presented with special robe (khilat-i-khasa), a jewelled dagger with pearl, Itaqa and phul katara worth 700 rupees, a pearl necklace with emerald pendant worth Rs. 13,000, a jewelled kalgi and a jewelled *asa*. He was given the title of Sikander Khan and an annual pension of one lakh of rupees. A tent was pitched for his residence within the gulalbar, and supplied with all necessary articles. Sikandar Bey, who held the title of Sikander Khan, had the letter *alif* added to his name (i.e. become Iskander Khan). All the Bijapuri officers were taken into imperial service. *M.A. 280.* "Sikander surrendered the fort of Bijapuri to the Emperor on 12th September 1687." *Basatin, 607* ; See also Jedhe (SS) 30 ; K K., II, 323, Bhim Sen. II, 101b.

16. "On Saturcay, 22nd. Zil. H. A.H. 1097 (the 30th Oct., 1686), the Emperor left Bijapur and reached Sholapur on Tuesday, 25th Zil. Hij. (2nd. Nov.), he ordered Sikander's Mahimaratib), Umbrella and other insignia of kingship to be deposited in the store-room." *M.A. 284.*

17. The Emperor entered the fort of Bijapur on 14th Sept., 1686 A.D. *Basatin, 608 ; M.A. 284.*

18. See *Dilkusha, II, 202, and M.A. 281.*

19. *Dilkusha, II, 202 ; Basatin, 307-8* ; Muhammad Nama (Tr. B.D. Verma), *Shivaji Nibandha Wali (Poona, 1931), 82-83.*

20. "While at the death of Adil Shah in November, 1656, A.D. his realm hnd annual revenue of seven crores and eighty four lakhs of rupees, besides 51/4 crores of tribute (peshkash) due from vassal Rajas and Zamindars". Bhim Sen, II, 203. See also *M.A. 218.*

21. Saqil give more details.

22. "In the night of the 17th Zil, Q. A.H. 1097 (the 25th Sept. 1687), the Emperor summoned Sikander to his presence and kindly requested him to sit down and presented him with a diamond sarpech and three packets of betel-leaf. Thereafter, Ruhullah Khan was appointed the Nazim of Bijapur, which was now named *Darul-Zafar*, and he was made a 5-hazari (4,000 tr) by an increment of a hazari *zat* and troopers (*sawars*). Aziz-Ullah Khan became the commandant of the fort, Muhammad Rafi, Diwan; Saadat Khan Bakshi and news writer; Sidi Ibrahim Kotwal and faujdar; Haji Muqim darogha of artillery, Zain-ul-Abidin and Muhammad Jafar, darogha and amin of branding and reviewing (dagh-o tasiha,) Abdul Barkat Qazi and Muhammad Afza Censor". *Ibid.*, 282.

23. "On Saturday, 22nd. Zil H. A.H. 1097 (30th October 1687) the Emperor left Bijapur and reached Sholapur on Tuesday, 25th Zil H. (2nd. Nov.)." *M.A., 284.*

24. Other chronicles are silent about it.

25. Ishwardas gives an alive account of the marriage. On Sunday, 15th Muharram. A.H. 1097 (6th Nov., 1687) Prince Bidar Bakht was married to the daughter of Mukhtar Khan. Qazi Abdullah pronounced the nikah. See also : *M.A. 284.*

26. Ishwardas has not mentioned the year of the conquest of the forts. Secondly, he mentions this conquest after the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda. Saqi says "On Sat., 22nd. Zil H. A.H. 1097 (30th Oct., 1687), Firoze Jang was sent to capture fort of Ibrahimgarh in Haiderabad." He further mentions 'Firoze Jang hastened to the court by way of Haiderabad after accomplishing his task. He reached the court on 20th Rabi I, A.H. 1097 (Jan. 1687)'. *M.A.* 284 and 288.

27. "The Emperor went to Gulbarga on December, 1686 and again on 25th February 1687. For details see :—*Ibid. 287.*

28. He encamped on 7th February, 1687. *Ibid.* 288.

29. Ishwardas mentions two visits of the Emperor to Bidar (Dec. 1686 and again on the 7th Feb. 1688).

30. It was captured in May 1687 A.D.

31. "On 12th April, 1685, a slave of Akbar came to the Emperor with a present of two horses but he was refused audience and ordered to speak to Zinat-un-Nisa Begum". *M.A., 256*

32. The fort of Mahuli is in Thana District near Sholapur, 50 miles N.E. of Bombay.

33. Saqi and Khafi Khan give different causes of the captivity of Shah Alam. See *M.A. 293-295* ; *M.L.* II, *330-334*; *Dilkusha*, 207 (only five lines), *Hamid-ud-Din's Ahkam 9, Storia, II, 302-304*. The date is 21 Feb., 1687 A.D.

34. "The commandant was Asuji Deccani." *M.A. 297* (very meagre about it.)

35. Ishwardas places Akbar's departure from Hindustan after Shah Alam's imprisonment (which took place in Feb, 1687). The Jedhe Shakavali states that Akbar went by ship to Persia in Falgun Shaka 1608 (Feb. 1687). This is supported by Kaempfor (as quoted in Ormes Fragments, 292), who says that "Akbar arrived in that part of Arabia bordering on Persia in the beginning of the year 1687 and at Isfahan on 24th January 1688". Orme's statement (Frag. 149) that Akbar embarked at Rajapur as soon as the monsoon was changed in Oct. 1686 and arrived at Muscet in Nov. is evidently based on O.C. 5621, *Madras to Surat* dated 29 Sept. 1687, which states, "Mr. Dobson, belonging to Calicut, assures us that he saw Sultan Akbar in Nov. last at Muscet and that he and his retinue were designed for Persia". Here the month must be wrong. For full history of Akbar's life in Persia. K.K. II, 286-290, 450, 546; *Storia, II, 279, 322* ; *Rugat No. 95* ; *M.A. 484* (*Ante. III, Ch. 277* (*3*).

36. "On 21st April 1683 the Emperor learnt that Durjan Singh Hada had taken Bundi by siege and also that on 13th August he received a despatch from Mughal Khan reporting that he had assaulted Bundi like lightning and after a nine hour's fight, put Durjan to flight, when (Aniurudh) entered the city with the imperial army. *M.A. 226 & 227.*

37. "On Wednesday, 1st. Rabi-us-Sani, A.H. 1098 (the 25th January, 1688), the Emperor started for Bijapur. *Ibid. 308.*

38. "Mukhils Khan, Mir Atish, was ordered to cut a canal for conveying the water of the Krishna to the city. *Ibid.* 310-313 ; Bhim Sen, II, 203.

39. "At an auspicious hour Khan Bahadur Firoze Jang was appointed to capture the fort of Adhoni from Masud Habshi, a slave of the father of Ghulam, who during the confusion in the government of this dynasty had become the supreme head of affairs and had ungratefully left to his master's son nothing, except the name of king, carried off and that stored and that strong fort the chief treasure, buried, choice articles and of precious jewels. The Khan was sent with a force of 25,000 troops." *M.A. 308*; *Dilkusha, II. 95b*; Manucci, *II, 320.*

40. A verse has been left out. See *fol. 125 b.*

41. The Emperor's letter to Masud, accepting his submission is given in *A.S.B.F. 56, 128* and Asafiya Library MS. *Insha 59, folio 48.*

42. 'Ishwardas' account is excellent. Saqi gives only scanty informations. *M.A., 308, 315-316*; K.K. II, 372 and Bhim Sen, II, 96a. (It was captured on 6th August, 1688.

Occurrence VIII Comprises

CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF BANGALORE

The significant event here is the conquest of the fort of Bangalore, which fell to the good fortune of the Emperor. The details of its conquest are given below, : "Among all the forts of the Carnatic, it was famous for its elevation and strength. Its commandant, Sidi Khan Muhammad, was widely known for his bravery and heroic deeds. He was brought up and cherished by Ali Adil Shah and became affluent and happy. (Soon) he became the leading noble (amir) of the Deccan. He commanded about 10,000 to 12,000 experienced and brave horsemen (sawars). Ali Adil Shah accepted him as son (farzand). When the land of the Carnatic had been annexed by the officers of the state, a large force under the command of the leading nobles (*amirs*) Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur (**fol. 127b**), Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur and Qasim Khan etc. was sent for its administration.

When the victorious army reached there, Sidi Muhammad, (its) commandant sent a message to Zulfiqar Khan saying, "If the Emperor treats me with kindness, forgives my faults, I, turning my face towards the exalted threshold, shall join the imperial service and will surrender the fort of Bangalore with all its dependencies to the imperial officers." Thus, the Khan according to the wish of (Sidi Muhammad) sent a petition (arz-dasht) to His Majesty. When it was placed before the exalted presence of the Emperor, it was accepted. The Khan, having been fully satisfied with the compact and agreement, got busy with Dal-Kho Rani of

Badhur and remained engaged for six months in that region. The result was that the Rani switched over her allegiance (to the Emperor) and the Khan, after streamlining the administration of that land, returned from there. But that unfortunate wretch, Sidi Muhammad, seduced by a few vagabonds, turned away from the path of loyalty and faithfulness. In flagrant violation of the earlier agreement, he prepared himself for conflict by strengthening the defences of the fort (Bangalore). Thus his hostile designs were clearly evident. (So) arming himself to the teeth, he prepared himself for a conflict. **(fol. 128a).**

In short, the situation having taken such a turn, the aforesaid Khan and Ghazi-ud-Din Khan made up their minds to capture the fort and chastise the rebel. They encamped at a distance of eight *karoh* from the fort. From there, they sent a petition (arz-dasht) informing about the faithlessness and violation of the agreement (by the Sidi). The matter was laid before the Emperor and he decided to chastise the rebel. Therefore, the Emperor conferred a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon Prince Muhammad Azam Shah with a necklace of pearls, a studded *Idrisi*, an elephant, five horses, and appointed him to lead the force for the conquest (of the said fort) and the suppression of the rebel. Tarbiyat Khan, Kamyab Khan, Rao Muhkam Singh, Raja Durg Singh and Raja Kishore Singh were ordered to accompany the Prince. Each one of them was honoured with reward (inam), robes (khilats), armoured-plates, horses, arms and cash. The Prince, accompanied by said nobles (*amirs*), reached the encampment, where he was greeted by Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur and other nobles (*amirs*), posted in that region. They came and paid their respects to him. The same place was selected for the encampment of the Prince also.

Sidi Muhammad, the commandant, having strengthened the turrets and battlements of the fort, sent a contingent of troops in advance to join issues for the battle. Thus the rebels, marching appeared in the battle-field **(fol. 128b).**

Upon this, the Prince appointed Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur and Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur to lead the van of the imperial army. Kamyab Khan and Rao Muhkam Singh were posted to the right and Tarbiyat Khan and Raja Drug Singh to the left. Thus arranging the army, they marched towards the fort. A band of the Deccanies, separating itself from the main body, attacked the imperial army. The brave soldiers (of the imperial army) resisted their offensive and the battle commenced. They were killing the ill-starred Deccanies with their swords while the latter were killing the former with their spears. Soon after, other rebels, who had remained behind, came and joined them. It made the battle more tense and thick. On either side thousands were killed and injured. As the grace of the Emperor was blessing the servants of the state, the wretched-rebels could not stand and they retreated towards the fort. Next morning the Prince in all his splendour and glory began his march towards the fort. Within five days he also reached there and encamped at a distance of two or three *karohs* from the fort. He began to strengthen the entrenchments (morchals), arranged his guns and small cannons (zanburak) (fol. 129a) opened fire to demolish its fortifications. As the fire of artillery was intense from the fort, none from the imperial forces dared raise his head. (Moreover) a party of the enemy, dashing out of the fort, engaged the imperial soldiers. Then (came duly) they raided the pasture and carried away horses and camels grazing there.

The Prince being told of these developments, posted Shah Quli Khan Bakhshi and Husain Khan Tarin with a big army to drive them away. Quickly, the Khans reached the said place and started chastising the rebels. (Ultimately) many of the enemy were killed and injured. Many getting wounded, perished there. Many servants of the state were killed and many succumbed to injury also. Soon Rao Muhkam Singh and Raja Kishore Singh reinforced and succeeded in snatching the horses and camels from the enemy. On their return, the Prince honoured them (Shah Quli Khan) was given a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) with horse; while Rao

Muhkam Singh received a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) and a sword with golden hilt and Raja Kishore Singh a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) and a dagger with silver hilt (**fol. 129b**). Thereafter, the brave men of the imperial army started their operation that is to say mining a tunnel and collecting the equipments for storming the fort. When the mine had reached upto the fort, the soldiers wanted to scale the fortifications with noose and to get in between defences and aggresses. All of a sudden the enemy, collecting themselves in large numbers on the rampart of the fort, began to fire muskets, missiles and other fire implements (upon them). Also from this side, the throwing of missiles and musket-balls began to trouble the garrisons of the fort. Exchange of artillery continued from morning till evening and killed a large number of men. At night time, as darkness approached the combatants stopped fighting.

Soon after the break of dawn the enemy, in a large number, coming out of the fort, again engaged the brave soldiers of the imperial army in battle. A severe conflict ensued and a large number of men were killed. Those, who were not killed, took to their heels and sought refuge in the fort. Sidi Muhammad, finding his position precarious, saw no way out except to surrender the fort and offer submission. He sent a responsible officer to the Prince and through his (Sidi's) messenger sought forgiveness for his crime. In all humiliation he, presenting himself before the Prince, surrendered the key (**fol. 130a**) of the fort with all its treasure. The Prince, assuring him of the kindness of the Emperor, removed his fears. He conferred a robe of honour (*khilat-i-fakhra*) upon him, a horse with golden trappings and allowed him to go back. Later, he (the Prince) asked Shah Quli Khan Bakhshi to take over the charge of the fort and the property of Sidi Muhammad. Thereafter, the Prince sent a petition (arz-dasht), describing the capture of the fort of (Bangalore) with its golden key and 1,000 (one thousand) *mouhars* on his behalf and 700 (seven hundred) *mouhars* on behalf of Prince Muhammad Bidar Bakht as *nazr*.

In short, the Emperor received the news of the conquest (of the fort) and also the articles sent to him and was immensely gratified. He bestowed the following presents upon the Prince, a studded dagger worth Rs. 45,000 (forty five thousand) and a necklace of pearls worth Rs. 30,000 (thirty thousand). The fort was named Azamnagar. Aqa Ali Khan, the chief of artillery (darogha-i-tope-khana) was appointed to the post of its commandant and was given permission to go there. The said expedition was completed in three months and fifteen days. Congratulations were offered (to the Emperor) on the conquest. As the Emperor was fully satisfied with the affairs there, he ordered Prince **(fol. 130b)** Muhammad Azam Shah and Prince Muhammad Bidar Bakht, with all the nobles (*amirs*) posted there, to return to the Court. Traversing the distance, they reached the imperial Court. According to the orders of the Emperor, Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, accompanied by the nobles (*amirs*) of seven posts (chaukis), went to welcome the Prince and conducted him with all honours there. After one quarter (*pahar*) and four *gharis* of the day, the Prince paid his respects to the Emperor and presented 1,000 (one thousand) *mouhars* as *nazr* and 1,000 (one thousand) as *nisar* and Prince Muhammad Bidar Bakht presented 500 (five hundred) *mouhars* as *nazr* and Rs. 500 (five hundred) as *nisar*. Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur and other nobles (amirs), who were posted in the retinue of the Prince, presented their *nazr* and *nisar* according to their status. The Emperor bestowed upon the Prince a half-sleeved (neem astin) lined with pearls worth Rs. 2,50,000 (two lakh and fifty thousand), a studded *tura* worth Rs. 65,000 (sixty-five thousand), a necklace of pearls, *Idrisi*, ruby worth Rs. 1,00,000 (one lakh) and Rs. 50,000 (fifty thousand) in cash.[1] Prince Muhammad Bidar Bakht received a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), jewels worth Rs. 1,00,000 (one lakh) and Rs. 40,000 (forty thousand) in cash. The other appointed nobles (amirs) received increase in their posts with robes (khilats), elephants, and costly arms, according to their status **(fol. 131a)**. The Prince, as a mark of recognition of their services, bestowed gifts upon his own servants by

giving them robes (khilats), *saropas*. elephants, horses and arms. Sidi Muhammad (ex-commandant), through the high secretaries (bakhshis), was presented before His Majesty. He received the *mansab* of 5,000/4,000 *zat* and *sawars*, his relations and other followers also received *mansabs*, according to their merits.

FOOT NOTES

1. "Prince Muhammad Azam was sent with 40,000 veteran cavalry against Sambha (on 25th January, 1688). He marched into the South-Western corner of Bijapur kingdom, captured the strong fort of Belgaum after a siege, and then returned to court (at Bijapur to encamp for rainy season)." *M.A. 308* and see also; Bhim Sen, 96b.

Occurrence IX Comprises

'THE REBELLION OF THE RAJA OF JATS IN THE VICINITY OF AKBARABAD'

In the earlier part of this work the rebellious activities of the ill-natured Jat Raja have already been recorded. During this period that source of mischief became more troublesome and disconcerting than his predecessors and began to harass the people. On account of the disturbance created by that accursed the high became so blocked that not even a bird could dare to open its wings. He also plundered and laid waste dependencies (parganas) which formed a part of the capital (Agra), and set his face towards Shahjahanabad with the object of ransacking Sikandera. Meanwhile, Mir Abul Fazl, the *faujdar* of the dependency (pargana), hearing this news, with his own army courageously tried to repulse those ill-natured fellows, and came in conflict with them at a distance of five *karohs* (from Sikandra). The rebels, though larger in number, were pushed back by the faujdar's men. In this process many were wounded **(fol. 131b)** and many fell in the field of battle. When the wretch was unable to inflict in any way harm on Sikandra, he marched to Shikarpur and ransacked it. Here he captured much booty in the form of cash and kind and then he went towards Ratanpur.[1] When the report of the defeat of those wretched-rebels reached to His Majesty, he bestowed the title of Iftikhar Khan upon Mir Abul Fazal and increased his *mansab* by 200 (two hundred) horsemen (sawars).

Soon after Mahabat Khan was given the *subedari* of *Darus Sultanat*, Lahore and he left for his destination. But when

he reached and encamped near the bank of the river Jamuna, that wretched Raja, with a large force, came forward with evil intentions and attacked him. Therefore the Khan, who was a known strategist, bearing in mind the large number of rebels (the Jats) disposed the artillery around his camp and became ready for conflict. He thought if the enemy would go away in two or three days it would be all for better, if not whatever was God's will, it must happen. That wretched person got inkling of it and becoming impendent and audacious moved forward. Upon this the Khan arranged his horsemen (*sawars*) and went into the action **(fol. 132a)**. A fierce battle took place in which 400 (four hundred) persons on the side of the enemy and 150 (one hundred and fifty) of the Khan were killed while 40 (forty) were wounded. At last the enemy, having no courage to stay, left the field. The Khan stayed on for a day and then left for his destination.[2]

Everyday the sedition of the rebel (Jat Raja) increased. When the report was submitted to the throne of *Khilafat* (the Emperor), he appointed Amir-ul-Umara as the *subedar* of Akbarabad. A *hasbul hukm* was issued for the deputy (naib) of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, Muhammad Baqa, entitled Muzaffar Khan, to carry on the administration of the said province (suba) till the arrival of Amir-ul-Umara. Through the reports (*waqa-i*) of Akbarabad, it was brought to the notice of the Emperor that "the accursed rebel had appeared at Sikandra, plundered the tomb of Hazrat Ashani... (Akbar), situated there and had taken away all its carpets, gold and silver and had damaged its building also. Most of the graves and tombs, erected there, had also been razed to the ground. Muhammad Baqa, the deputy (naib) of Khan-i-Jahan, who was present in Akbarabad, did not care to chastise that wretched rebel. So the shadow of God punished him by reducing his *mansab* by 500 horses (*sawars*) and that of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur **(fol. 132b)** by 1,000 horses (sawars).[3]

Raja Ram Singh was summoned from Kabul for the chastisement of the wretched (Raja) but death overtook him.

After his death, the Emperor bestowed upon Raja Bishan Singh, his son, *mansab* of 2,000/2,000 *zat* and *sawars*, an elephant, a banner and a drum. A *farman* was issued, granting him the '*tika*' of Amer and the title of *Raja* with the *zamindari* of the city of Mathura and Sinsani, which was the headquarter of the wretched rebels (the Jats) and he was appointed for their chastisement.

Through the petition (arz-dasht) of Makramat Khan, the *subedar* of Lahore, the Emperor came to know that, "Mahabat Khan, the *subedar* of Lahore, had died. Thereupon an imperial order was issued that, "till the appointment of a new *subedar*, he (Makramat Khan) should look after (its administration)." Ali Quli Khan, son of the late Khan, who had gone with the imperial permission to his father, was ordered to return to the imperial court from wherever he might be." The above province (suba) was assigned to Prince Muhammad Azam Shah. The administration of the province (suba) of Gujarat and the *faujdari* of Jodhpur and Merta remained with the aforesaid Khan as before. The Khan had peformed his duties diligently in the land of Gujarat and Marwar **(fol 133a)**, and had provided peace to the creatures of the Almighty in both the said places.

From Iran, it was reported to the Emperor that, "the ruler of Iran had despatched Muhammad Jafar and Najaf Quli Qizalbash with a force of 10,000 (ten thousand) horsemen (*sawars*) for the chastisement of Ahmad Harvi. The said persons, reaching his territory attacked it but Ahmad, with great courage, defeated them. Upon this with their shame and humiliation, having turned their backs towards the field of battle and in sheer disappointment they marched towards Qandhar. Ahmad with his large army pursued them with the firm intention of opening the siege of Qandhar. For this reason the Emperor issued an order that "Makramat Khan, the Nazim of Multan, who was to leave for the province (suba) of Thatta, should postpone his departure and leave to extend support to Ahmad Harvi and that after besieging and conquering Qandhar, he should proceed to his destination."

FOOT NOTES

1. The rebellion could not be checked by Safi Khan, the subedar of Agra.

   A. French MS. Account of the Jats preserved in the India Office, London (Orme MS. vol. 216, no. 2, copy in vol. 15, no. 11), and ascribed to Father Francois Xavier Wendel, is the only source that mentions Ramchehra. Rajaram and Ramchehra, the petty zamindars of Sinsani and Sogar, were the first after fifteeon years to challenge the Mughals.

2. Ishwardas is chronologically wrong. Mahabat Khan was attacked after the killing of Aghar Khan by the Jats. "As early as (May 1686) Aurangzeb had recognised the gravity of the situation by despatching against the jats, a great general, Khan-i-Jahan Kokaltash Zafar Jang." *M.A., 274.* The success of Rajaram forced the Emperor to despatch Prince Azam but he was recalled from Burhanpur for the pressing Golconda siege. "Prince Bidar Bakht, son of Prince Azam, was however sent (in December, 1687) to assume the supreme command in the Jats war, while Khan-i-Jahan was to continue as his adviser and chief officer *Ibid*, 298, 311; K.K.II, 316, 396. Early in 1688, Mir Ibrahim of Haiderabad (newly entitled Mahabat Khan) was attacked by Rajaram." Ibid. II, 396.

3. "They began their pillage by breaking in the great gates of bronze which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plates of gold and silver and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them". Manucci, II, 320.

Occurrence X Comprises

INDIFFERENCE OF PRINCE

'MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH TOWARDS ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE AND HIS ADMONITION'

Siyadat Khan, the teacher (mu'allim) of 'Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, came to the exalted study room (*maktab khana*) and asked him to come (the Prince). The Khan waited for three hours (saats) but even then the Prince did not turn up. Therefore he reported **(fol. 133b)** all that had happened by appearing in the presence of the Emperor who said, "The cause of absence be investigated and reported to me." The Khan, acting accordingly, submitted that "the Prince says that up to this time, I had been acquiring knowledge and what I was (presumed) to acquire, I have acquired. Shall I spend the whole of my life in the study room (*maktab khana*)?" As this submission indicated the vanity of the Prince, the Emperor resented it and called him to his presence and said, "A human being is a beast without knowledge. For the Princes there is no escape from it." Then the Emperor ordered that the Prince should not be allowed to go out of his camp (daira) even for Friday prayers. Thus he (the Prince) was unable to perform his *kurnish* for one month and fifteen days. Afterwards the Emperor, through paternal affection condoned his faults adding "in the acquirement of happiness i.e. (education) such indifference will not be permitted (at all)."[1]

Going to Hell of Raja Jat

During the same period, the Grace of the Almighty and

the good fortune of the Emperor appeared in the killing of Raja Jat and its details as follow: "There were differences between Sheikhawat and the Chauhan clans over the *zamindari* of Parkha and Khataria. In course of time they created conditions of hatred and enemity and numerous band of troops, collecting together, some times fought with each other (**fol. 134a**). Sometime Sheikhawat gained success, at others Chauhans got the upper hand. Therefore, the chauhans requested Jat Raja for help and the Sheikhawat approached Shahji, the cousin of Sipehdar Khan. The latter who was the *faujdar* of Mewat, was performing the duties of a deputy (naib).[2]

In short, an encounter took place in the precinct of the village (mauza) of Pijal and the two Rajput clans jealous of each other were engaged in a deadly struggle and many lives were lost. Meanwhile, Raja Jat, filled with pride and bravey, reached there and joined the battle. At this time, one of the servants of Sipehdar Khan Bahadur, who was a perfect marksman, came to know (about the joining of the Raja). He climbed up on a tree and took aim at the Raja. His arrow hit him in the chest. Thus hit, the Raja fell down from his horse and died on the spot. The Chauhans took to heels. Thereafter, the drums of success were beaten. Shahji, in the wake of his God-given success, cut off the head of the accursed rebel (Raja) and despatched it by one of the servants to the exalted presence (**fol. 134b**). Covering the distance from Ajmer in twenty-two days, his servant reached the exalted presence and presented the head with the petition (arz-dasht) of the Khan. It was ordered that the head of the accursed be hanged by the door of the *Kotwali*. An increase of 500 *zat* was unconditionally made in the *mansab* of the Khan and 200 *zat* in the *mansab* of the head-bearer.

FOOT NOTES

1. The other contemporary and near contemporary sources do not support it. The Prince was twice confined, first when he had secret overtures with Rajaram, secondly when he disobeyed the Emperor. See *M.A., 354-359, 397 and 400.*

2. Ishwardas commits the chronological mistake as usual. First he writes about the death of the Raja Jat (Rajaram) and then he narrates his destruction, devastation and other atrocities. Except some confusion of persons and dates, his account is the best. The Fr. Ms, however, says, "Ramchehra fell into the Prince's hands, and Rajaram, dangerously wounded in the pursuit...died of his wounds shortly afterwards, Ramchehra's head was cut off at Agra and publicly exposed on the great gate in front of the fort, above the bazar." Saqi and Iswardas alike ignore Ramchehra and say that it was Rajaram whose head was cut off and sent to the Emperor at Bijapur. *Ibid. 312.*

Occurrence XI Comprises

'TRAINING OF A HORSE BY SAF KHAN, AN EXPERT RIDER'

Saf Khan, an expert rider's training of a horse was one of the very interesting pleasures which was enjoyed by the Emperor. The rider spread a sheet on the floor and pointed at the horse. The horse took its seat on the sheet and then it was rolled into a bundle, though an hour passed, it did not move (at all). Thereafter, the horse was taken out of the bundle. Later, handing over a *bida* to a man, a sign was given to the horse. The horse reached near the man (who was holding the *bida*), caught it by its lips and gave it to the rider.

The Emperor smiled at it and gave five gold coins (mouhars) to the rider as reward (inam).

Occurrence XII Comprises

THE REBELLION OF GOPAL SINGH, THE GRANDSON OF PAHAD SINGH GAUR, IN THE VICINITY OF GWALIOR AND HIS SIEGE OF THE FORT OF ANDHRAKHI

From the report (*waqa-i*) of the city of Gwalior, it was reported to the Emperor that, "Gopal Singh (**fol. 135a**), the grandson of Pahad Singh Gaur, who had collected a large force of the mischief-mongers, had marched to the fort of Andhrakhi and laid a siege to it.[1] The fort was in the *zamindari* of Bakhtawar Bhadauria, who fought gallantly (against him) but after two days the rebels outnumbering him, captured the fort. Bakhtawar Bhadauria, leaving his land and possessions, fled to Gwalior. Safdar Khan, the *faujdar*, gave no help to him (Bhadauria)." Therefore, an order (farman) was issued to reduce 100 (hundred) horsemen (*sawars*) from the *mansab* of Safdar Khan[2] and to send Muhammad Aqil, mace-bearer to (the Khan) the *faujdar* of Gwalior. Surat Singh, the *faujdar* of Nudh and Dilawar Khan,[3] the *faujdar* of Azd-e-Hathi were asked to advance (from their respective places) for the chastisement of the rebels. By reaching the fort of Andhrakhi, expel Gopal Singh from the fort and hand it over to the charge of Bakhtawar.

'Rebellion of the deceased Raja's nephew, Churaman Jat near Akbarabad'

In the earlier pages the death of Jat Raja has been recorded. Now Churaman Jat, the nephew of the deceased,

decided to avenge his uncle's death and collected a large number of the mischief-mongers. Strengthening the fortresses of Sinsani and Sokar etc., he raised the standard of rebellion much serious than the earlier one.[4] Most of the dependencies (parganas) of Akbarabad and Shahjahanbad (**fol. 135b**) were sacked by him and because of insurgence roads and other communications were disrupted.

When this news came to His Majesty from the reports (waqa-i) of Shahjahanabad and Akbarabad, it was ordered that *hasbul hukm* be sent to the *Nazims* and the *faujdars* of the regions for the suppression of the rebels. Accordingly, a large force was deployed.

Meanwhile Raja Bishan Singh also joined the imperial army. According to the imperial orders, the imperial army and the Raja's army joined together and left for Churaman Jat's chastisement. As the Raja had been given a high *mansab* and had received other favours from the Emperor also, and in consideration of his honour and dignity and to impress His Majesty, he had recruited 2,000 (two thousand) horsemen (*sawars*) and 20,000 (twenty thousand) footmen (piyadas). He now formed the vanguard of the imperial army. Reaching at a distance of five *karohs* from the stronghold of the rebels, he pitched his camp. The rebels, with great audacity began to attack the imperial army from right and left and a bitter conflict ensued. Eventually, a stage was reached when bringing of water from the ponds and the supply of provisions to the imperial army became difficult. The surprise attacks, launched by the Jats, rendered the situation still worse. Grain and fodder became scarce. In two or three days the scarcity of fodder and water became so intense that, even by paying high prices, it could not be procured. In such a crisis men and beasts began to perish (**fol. 136a**) with hunger. (Anyhow) in a period of four months, they succeeded in fixing the entrenchment (morchal) exactly opposite the gate of the fortress (qilachi) and opened its siege. Heavy firing guns were placed in disposition, mines were laid and safety alleys were constructed. The jungle was also cut from all sides

of the fortress (qilachi). This reduced the place into a plain ground. When the mine had reached near the gate of the fortress, it was filled with gunpowder and was to be set to fire. But the matter leaked out to the evil-natured Jats, who closed the mouth of the mine with boulders and mud. When the powder was set to fire it did not react properly. As the mouth had been closed it rebounded backwards. The explosion blew into the air the surface of the mine like cotton. As such the artillery men, other supervisors and soldiers were blown up into the air from the intensity of heat and many of them posted there fell down. Again the imperial servants engaged themselves in laying mines there. Thus, digging the tunnel in the course of one month, they brought it to the foot of the fortress and accumulated the gunpowder at its mouth. The Raja and other servants of the state stood fully prepared on all sides to rush into the fortress. They lighted the tunnel and the mines blew up the ramparts of the fortress; its debris fell partly inside and partly towards the imperial encampment. Many evil-natured Jats, who had gathered at the top of its walls, were blown up and many of them were buried under debris also (**fol. 136b**). When the fire of the mines had subsided the Raja and his followers, from all sides, spurred their horses and through the breach they entered the fortress. But the evil-natured Jats stood fast and defended it stubbornly. For two or three hours (saats) the battle raged furiously. In the end, the imperial army was victorious and the enemy suffered defeat. Thus the servants of the ever-lasting empire were victorious. About 1,500 (fifteen hundred) soldiers were killed or wounded from the imperial side. Mamur Khan, with his 200 (two hundred) horsemen (*sawars*) died in the battlefield. From among the Rajputs that is in the army of the Raja, about 100 (hundred) men were killed and injured. The Raja and other servants of the state encamped there.

The next day, news reached the Raja (Bishan Singh) that, "the enemy had gone and taken refuge in the fortress of Sokar and that with evil-intentions he was busy in collecting troops there." Accordingly, the Raja, accompanied by other

servants of the state, raided it. By chance the gates of the fortress were left open for provisions to go in. The imperial army rode into it unhindered, whoever tried to oppose it was struck down by sword. The rebel, with 500 (five hundred) (**fol. 137a**) men was taken prisoner. Thereafter, the imperial army returned to its headquarters. The Raja, reaching the camp, sent a petition (arz-dasht) describing the victory and the arrest of the enemy alongwith his 500 (five hundred) accomplices. When its contents were reported to His Majesty, he honoured the Raja and other officers of the state according to their merits and issued an order (*farman*) that "all the prisoners should be guarded properly."[5]

'The arrival of the Ambassador of the King of Kashghar'

Meanwhile Yunus Beg, the ambassador of the ruler of *Kashghar* reached the exalted presence.[6] On his arrival near the exalted camp (Urdu-i-Mualla), according to the imperial orders Khusrau Beg was sent from the court to introduce him before His Majesty. He came, performed all the rites of *taslims* and presented a copy of Quran, one bag of ink on behalf of the ruler of *Kashghar* and a fur garment (postin) on his own behalf which were accepted (by the Emperor). He was honoured with a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), gold, silver and cash were also given as gifts. He was given leave from the Court. For the ruler of Kashghar, a pen, a studded dagger, cloth and other commodities of Hindustan were sent (by the Emperor).

FOOT NOTES

1. Gopal Singh Gaur must not be confounded with Gopal Chaudhuri of Sironj, who rebelled on release from captivity (about 1704) (*Inayat's Akham*, 36), nor with Raó Gopal Singh Chandawat.

2. Mir Jamaluddin Husain, Safdar Khan was the Mansabdar of 2,000 M.A., 335; T.M. 2; Kamwar. 282a; M.U. I, 252; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 246.

3. Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Abdul Aziz Khan, Dilawar Khan, was the mansabdar of 1,500/700 *zat & sawars S.D.A.*, 74; *A.N.* 141; *M.A.* 132; *M.U.* II,686-88; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 202.

4. Ishwardas says that Churaman was a son of the brother of Rajaram but all other sources are silent about his relationship with the later. A Persian work used by William Irvine names Bhajja as father of Churaman. *Later Mughals*, I, 322.

   Life of Churaman (mostly after Aurangzeb's death). See : *M.U.* I, 540-48.

5. Ishwardas says that Sokar was taken immediately after Sinsani and the rebel was captured at the former place. This is wrong. There is a year's difference between the two conquests. Sinsani was captured in 1690 while Sokar on (21st. May, 1691). See *M.A.* 334, 340; *Hamid-ud-Din's Ahkam*, 26.

6. Saqi calls him Abdul Rahim Beg. *M.A.* 337.

Occurrence XIII Comprises

'REBELLION OF GOPAL SINGH, THE GRANDSON OF PAHAD SINGH GAUR IN THE VICINITY OF GWALIOR'

From the despatch of the reports (*waqa-i*) of Gwalior, the Emperor came to know that Safdar Khan, the *faujdar* of Gwalior, while going towards the village (mauza) Khanjaudhara, situated in the dependencies (paraganas) of Maloh in the sarkar of Gwalior, was attacked by the rebels. Thereafter they had returned into the fortress (qilacha) and were ready to fight (**fol. 137b**). Upon this the Khan also opened the siege of the fortress. A battle of arrows and guns began which lasted for fifteen days but the fortress could not be captured. In the thick of battle, the Khan marched courageously with a few soldiers and in spite of intense musket fire and showering of arrows, succeeded in scaling the rampart of the fortress. Pushing out the enemy, who were rolling stones from the top of the fortress, he placed his men firmly in their place. (Having done all this) he decided to storm the fortress next morning and he returned to his camp. But the rebel (Pahad Singh) was greatly perturbed by the said arrangements. Despairing of life he launched a night attack. As the time of the Khan's death had reached, he himself, out of martial pride went to fight against the enemy. In the tumult, an arrow struck him (the Khan) in the stomach and he died. After this occurrence the Emperor appointed Salih Khan, the brother of (late) Safdar Khan, to the *faujdari* of Gwalior and for the suppression of the rebels.[1]

Mir Alam, mace-bearer (gurz-bardar) presented Rs. 2,50,000 (two lakh and fifty thousand) tribute (peshkash) of Rao Jagdev (fol. 138a), the zamindar of *Sri-rangapatan.* It was deposited in the imperial treasury.

Shaikh Jahan, the commandant of Asirgadh had forcibly committed adultery with the wife of Sambha, who was confined there and she had become pregnant. When the matter was reported to the Emperor, the aforesaid commandant was summoned to the court and he came. Salabat Khan was ordered to place him under surveillance. The latter asked his servants to bring him at night after disarming him. But his sense of bravery impelled him to refuse the removal of arms from his body. And during the discussion, taking off the *jamdhar* from his waist, he pierced it into his stomach, fell down on the ground and became unconscious. The whole incident was reported to the Emperor and it was ordered that, "at the moment he (the Shaikh) should be handed over to the chief Qazi (*Qazi-ul-Quzat*) but on his getting well, he should be presented in the court." Mutamid Khan, who had captured the fort of Tarank, was given Rs. 30,000 (thirty thousand) as reward (inam).

Orders were issued to this effect "Bai Jiu, the mother of Prince Muhammad Muazzam, and other women of the household of the Princes, be taken to Shahjahanabad, escorted by Sultan Muiz-zu-Din and Azim-ud-Din and that Sultan Khujista Akhtar should come to the presence of the Emperor to be with his father." Thus he (Khujista Akhtar), according to the imperial orders, came to the exalted presence and Hamiduddin Khan was ordered to take him to his father. In addition, other signs of royal favours, which were expressed in favour of the Prince (fol. 138b), was the grant of essence of rose, rose water and *bed-i-muskk* water, dry and fresh fruits and wearing apparels. Kamgar Khan was ordered to escort Qazi Mir, who had been imprisoned in the fort of Daulatabad, to Shahjahanabad.[1]

Itimad Khan, the *diwan* of Ahmadabad, was retained to the post of the *diwani*, and in addition the post of *mutasaddi*

of Surat was also assigned to him. Sayied Mohsin, the nephew of Idris Khan and son-in-law of Itimad Khan, was appointed the deputy (naib) *diwan* (of Ahmadabad).

Illustrious farman was issued in the name of Raja Bishan Singh to send the undertaking (muchalka) about the demolition of the fortress of Sinsani and for the proper administration of district (zila) of Mathura. One hundred horsemen (*sawars*) from the contingents of Amirul Umara with Aqa Ali Khan and Atullah Khan were posted with the Raja. Mirak Husain, the *diwan* of Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, came from Hindustan and paid his respects to the Emperor. He presented Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) with a copy of *Quran* as tribute (*peshkash*) which was accepted. A written order had the honour of being issued in favour of Ali Mardan Khan Haiderabadi who was appointed the *faujdar* of the dominion of Carnatic.

The Emperor was orally informed by the *harkara* that, "the rebel Marathas attacked Khidmat Talab Khan, the *thanadar* of Payin (Ghat). A fierce battle broke out (fol. 139a) and the Khan was overwhelmed by the superior number of the rebels who carried him away as prisoner."

The petition (arz-dasht) of Itiqad Khan was received saying that "the brothers of the seditionist Hameer, one of the ignoble chiefs (na-sardars) of wretched Sambha, had raided the imperial territories. The aforesaid Khan and his men arranged themselves in the vicinity of Malkapur where a contested battle occurred in which many mischief-mongers were killed or wounded. Of the imperial soldiers some lost their lives whereas others were wounded. The rebels could not bear the brunt of battle and, leaving booty consisting of cash and possessions, retreated towards Gulshanabad, Nasik." When these details were reported to the Emperor, in appreciation of the services of the Khan, he bestowed a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon him and increased his *mansab*. And an order (farman) was also issued giving encouragement (to the Khan) and ordering him to chastise the rebels (completely).

The spies reported to the Emperor that, "Sayied Abdullah Khan, having reached the fort of *Rahiri*, wants to open its siege." Therefore, it was ordered that, "Mahdaji, the grandson of shameless Sambha, should draw a plan of the fort and should place it before the Emperor and that the son of Kabkalas should go to the house of Mahdaji and help him (**fol. 139b**). Thus according to the imperial orders, Mahdaji prepared the plan of the fort and submitted it through Bahramand Khan. It was ordered that a detailed account of the army of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah should be prepared. Meanwhile Mahdaji submitted a petition (arz-dasht) saying "if the Emperor permits me, I shall leave my family in the imperial protection and will go to kill or imprison the condemned person and in case his faults are pardoned I will bring him to the exalted presence." On the said submission the Emperor ordered "Let him be ready. On his arrival the requisite orders would be issued and let Abdullah Khan postpone his intention (to lay siege to the aforesaid fort)."[3]

Mohsin Khan submitted that the commandant of Parnala, in the territory (taluqa) of the accursed Sambha, had sent his sister to him with a petition (arz-dasht). It was ordered that she should be taken to Nawab Bai Zinat-un-Nisa Begum, who would inquire into the matter and report on it. But Begum Sahiba, after going through the petition (arz-dasht), did not pay much attention to it. When it was reported to the Emperor, he called her (the sister of commandant) in his presence and put questions in this regard. She submitted, "The commandant requests that, if by the grace of the Emperor, this lowly person is given a *mansab* of 5,000/5,000 *zat* and *sawars*, he will surrender the fort to the imperial servants." After her submission, the Emperor ordered, "Let Mohsin Khan (**fol. 140a**) send a reliable person to the commandant and after the receipt of his petition (arz-dasht) a kind *farman* will be issued accordingly." The sister of commandant was given a shawl, studded *idrisi* and Rs. 500 (five hundred) in cash.

Mukhtar Khan, the chief of artillery (darogha-i topekhana) was promoted to the post of master of Horses (Akhta Begi) and was given a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) also.

FOOT NOTES

1. Saqi gives the date (May 1690). See *M.A. 335*.
2. Shah Alam's ladies left to Delhi (June 1689 A.D.).
3. Ishwardas mentions the fort of *Rahiri* while it was *Raigarh* fort. See *M.A.* and Dilkusha also.

Occurrence XIV Comprises

DISTURBANCE CREATED BY THE ACCURSED ENEMY IN KOLHAPUR AND THE MARCH OF KHAN-I-ZAMAN AGAINST THEM AND THE BATTLE NEAR KOLHAPUR AND SUCCESS OF THE ENEMY.

The details of the said incident are as follow: "A group of the rebels appeared in Kolhapur and unleashed insurgence and disturbance there. Khan-i-Zaman Fath Jang Khan marched out hurriedly to chastise them. He reached in the precinct of Kolhapur and a conflict broke out which continued for one quarter (pahar) and four *gharis*. The brave fighters of the imperial army put to sword about 700 (seven hundred) rebels, while 400 (four hundred) of imperial soldiers died fighting. The rebels being larger in number, opened further attack on the imperial army. The experienced brave soldiers, in their pride of bravery (**fol. 140b**), joined conflict and created much havoc there. The Khan and his son, Khan-i-Alam, received sword and spear wounds. The rebels could not bear the brunt of battle and took to their heels. In short, the Emperor, having been appraised of the above facts ordered that, "Muhammad Taqi Khan, with 2,000 (two thousand) horsemen (*sawars*) should leave for the assistance of the Khan, and conferred a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon him and gave a sword also.[1] Hakim Sebestian Farangi was sent with the force to dress the wounds of the Khan.[2]

FOOT NOTES

1. "Khan-i-Zaman Haiderabadi was sent as faujdar of Kolhapur and was attacked near fort of Panhala, The year was 1688. *Bhim Sen*, II, 96a ; see also *M*.A., 193 and K.K. II, 131.

2. Hakim Sebestian Farangi might have been a Portuguese. It is my guess.

Occurrence XV Comptises

RUSTAM KHAN BIJAPURI'S FIGHT AGAINST THE ACCURSED REBELS NEAR THE FORT OF SATARA

Rustam Khan Bijapuri reached near the fort of Satara, which was perched at a high elevation matching with the sky and wanted to bring it in the control of the Emperor. When it was reported to Sambha Gaurpada, Jadu Parkhia and other ignoble chiefs (na-sardars) of the accursed Sambha and they, deploying a very large force, attacked the Khan.[1] The Khan despatched his son, Ghalib Khan,[2] with a force of 5,000 (five thousand) horsemen (*sawars*) and five elephants against them. The battle had not yet started when, "the musketeers of the rebels moved forward, faced the imperial army and opened fire on it (**fol. 141a**). When the elephants in the vanguard were hit by musket-balls, they took to their heels and some soldiers who were wounded, also fell on the ground. Rustam Khan, who had arranged his army for the battle, was witnessing what had befallen his men. In sheer haste, he rushed for their rescue and fell upon the enemy. As some of the elephants of the rebels charged the soldiers of the Khan, the horses in fright, turned round and galloped off. However much their riders tried to turn them back, could not succeed. Rustam Khan, now left with a few brave soldiers around him, was charged upon the rebels and with great courage he succeeded in repelling their attack. Meanwhile the scattered troops of the Khan began to come back from every direction. The Khan, rearranging his men, attacked the army of Sambha Gaurpada and Jadu Parkhia.

Both of them, sensing danger, turned round their horses and retreated, followed by their fellows. The brave soldiers of the imperial army ruthlessly killed the rebels with their swords. Suddenly a band of the rebels opened an attack on the army of the Khan, wounding some and getting themselves wounded, snatched away the flag from its bearer **(fol. 141b)**. Upon this the Khan from the sheer sense of self respect turned his elephant and accompanied by his horsemen (*sawars*) fell upon them. As the fate had destined, his skirt caught fire. In this situation the Carnatic musketeers, who were in the van of the Khan, instead of fighting the enemy, turned back and began to plunder and lost the rear and the camp.[3] When the Khan saw it, he could not remain steady. In perplexity he turned back and his men also scattered. Bullets and arrows were continuously inflicting wounds on the Khan and he fell down from his elephant. Upon this Babaji Maurya, who was fighting against the Khan, rushed to the spot and carried the latter to his camp. Also the right wing of the Khan's army, which was under the command of Ghalib Khan, was overwhelmed by bands of the rival troop and was over-powered. The latter fighting very bravely, struck by arrows and spears, fell down (died). 1,500 (fifteen hundred) brave soldiers were killed and as many, from the rebel's side, went to hell.

Hameer, with a force of 5,000 (five thousand) horsemen (*sawars*) and foot (piyadas) came out of the fort of Satara and wanted to humiliate the relatives of the Khan **(fol. 142a)**. But his women and children decided to kill themselves rather than allowing themselves to be taken prisoners. When Hameer was informed of it, he loudly said, "your chief (sardar) is still alive and I am not here to fight with you. Give up the vain idea (of self-immolation)." While the discussion was going on some of the wretcheds entered the camp of the Khan and took away his mother, wife and daughter as prisoners to the fort of Satara.

At length when all this was reported to the Emperor, he ordered that, "Ghazi-ud-Din Khan and Dilir Khan should

march with a large army to the fort of Satara and, reaching there, should besiege it." Marhamat Khan, Sayied Abdus-Samad Khan, Muhammad Naqi Khan and Muhammad Murad Khan, who were assisting Fath Jang Khan, were ordered to join the army of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur. They joined him accordingly. The same day it so happened that while Sidi Abdul Qadir, from his post in the dependency (pargana) of Lakihir, was marching to join Marhamat Khan, he was attacked by Rupa Bhonsle with a large number of men. The Khan, a man of courage, stood fast and gave him a battle. As the number of the accursed was very large, they encircled the Khan from every side and he died fighting with his 50 (fifty) attendants. Thus getting encouraged, the rebels looted the property of the Khan in cash and kind.

From the report (waqa-i) of Kanaun (**fol. 142b**), it was brought to the notice of the Emperor that four individuals from the family of Rustam Khan, two sons and two ladies (wife and daughter) had reached there.[4] The story of their arrival is as under; "At the time the enemy came to arrest them, (they) covering their faces with old cloaks showed off as the servants of the Khan so the enemy believing their words, allowed (them) to leave. Thus, they considering it to be an excellent opportunity, came out of that hellish place and with the guidance of two or three servants went into the fastnesses of hills and concealed themselves there. At night time they, coming out (from the hills), wearing dresses of destitutes and traversing hills and dales, reached the imperial territory." So an order was issued that, "Mir Husain, mace-bearer, should take with him two palanquins (palkis) and four horses and escort them to the exalted presence."[5] The Emperor asked Fazil Khan to appoint *harkaras* to inform Rustam Khan that, "his two sons, wife and daughter had arrived in the camp and that they would be looked after properly and that a strong force was being despatched to secure his release (from there)."

At the same time from the letter of Rustam Khan, the Emperor came to know that he had agreed to pay 1,00,000

(one lakh) *huns* as fine to the rebels and as security, he had left his mother and elder son with them and that he had arrived at Sankola and was there to pay respects to the exalted Majesty." The Emperor ordered, "stop, stay at the place, he was." In short he remained in custody for sixteen days.

After that Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur and Qasim Khan, marching three stages ahead of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah reached the skirts of high-hills. The evil-natured rebels had closed the hill road and the supply of grain (**fol. 143a**). had stopped and its price became so high that the Prince had to despatch Zulfiqar Khan, Bakhtmand Khan and Sidi Miftah Khan with an adequate troops towards the top of the hills. Covering the distance on foot, they entered the skirts of the hills. Soon fighting broke out. With great courage, they (the imperial soldiers) scattered the band of mischief-mongers, which had taken control of it. (Expelling the rebels from there) they established a strong post (thana) there.

Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur and Qasim Khan laid a siege to the fort of Koram.[6] Thus a battle started with guns and grenades. In the end, with the good fortune of the Emperor, the commandant was killed and the fort was captured.

It was reported to the Emperor that, "the messenger of Khawandkar of Rum (Turkey) had arrived in Hindustan." Therefore the subedars of the provinces (subas) were instructed that, "they should accord him a warm welcome, treat him with due respect and honour and escort him safely through their respective territories.[7]

Sidi Masud Khan arrived with the intention of paying his respects to the Emperor. According to imperial orders, Mutalib Khan greeted him at the entrance (devdhi) of the hall of audience (khas-o-am), Bahramand Khan received him at the door of *Ghusal Khana* (**fol. 143b**) and conducted him to the exalted presence. The Khan performed the rites

of *kurnish* and *taslims*, presented 100 (hundred) gold coins (asharafis) and Rs. 1,000 (thousand) as *nazr* and all of it was accepted (by the Emperor). The Emperor honoured the Khan by conferring a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon him. Afterwards (according to the imperial orders) the master of ceremonies (mir-i-tuzuk) and the *wakils* of the court made him stand below Asad Khan. At last on the following day the Khan was granted a *mansab* of 7,000/7,000 *zat* and *sawars*, with a studded dagger, a sword with studded hilt and other royal favours.[8]

Muhammad Raja died. As the Emperor, the shadow of God, had been very kind to him (Raja), he asked that his coffin be brought before him and led the funeral prayers.[9]

Sultan Daulat Afza, the son of Prince Muhammad Muazzam died. The Emperor ordered, "He should be buried near the tomb of Ali Adil Shah." As paternal affection for him was very strong, the act was much affected with grief and sorrow.[10]

Zabardast Khan, who had gone to *Turan* as an ambassador and who, according to the imperial orders, had stopped at *Darul Sultanat* (Lahore) was appointed the *subedar* of Thatta. He replaced Murid Khan.

The festival of Id approached. The Emperor, the shadow of God, from his sincere reverence for religion, ordered that Siyadat Khan (**fol. 144a**), the judge (sadr), and chief Qazi (Qazi-ul-Quzat) Abdullah should find out from the books whether, "the Id prayer can be held in the mosques of Bijapur and Zuhrapur." After having consulted trustworthy books, they submitted that, "(the Id) prayers are not permissible in either of the two mosques." In this connection they produced incontrovertible evidence before the Emperor. Therefore an order was issued in the name of Ihtamam Khan that "an Idgah be built by the side of *Mecci gate* (for the prayers)."

In the household of Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, a son was born to his wife, Manoharpari. The Emperor summoned the Prince (to his presence) and offered greetings to him. The Prince presented 1,000 (thousand) gold çoins (asharafis) as *nazr* and performed the rites of *taslims*. Thereafter it was ordered that the drums of joys be sounded in the tent of the Prince and the nobles (amirs) should go out to congratulate him.[11]

The reports (waqa-i) of Ujjain reported that the commissary (gumashta) of Shiv Singh, the *zamindar* of the territory (pargana) of Ratlam, situated in the province (suba) of Ujjain. ordered an elephant fight. In view of the fact that this privilege was reserved only for illustrious sovereigns, so 500 horsemen (*sawars*) were reduced from the *mansab* of the *zamindar* and Asad and two other mace-bearers were appointed to chastise the aforesaid *commissary* severely and to escort him to the court alongwith the elephants and produce him before the Emperor so that he would be given deserving punishment for his misconduct (**fol. 144b**).

The petition (arz-dasht) of Raja Anup Singh, the *zamindar* of the dependency (pargana) of Bikaner, was placed before the Emperor saying "I am very ill and there is no hope of life. The two wives of this hereditary servant (khanazad) are pregnant. After the death of this faithful person if a son is born to one of them, the *tika* of Bikaner be given to him." As the Raja, who was a hereditary servant (khanazad) had rendered faithful and excellent services, the Emperor ordered that an imperial order (hasbul hukm) be issued in his name, consoling and assuring the Raja that whenever a son would be born to that hereditary servant (khanazad), the *tika* of Bikaner will be given to him. Thus he should be fully assured and satisfied (for it). Still the Raja was to live some more days. He recovered from his illness and both of his wives gave birth to two sons.

'The Blindness of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur'

In the preceding pages it has been mentioned that Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur was sent for the conquest of the

fort of Satara. When he had covered two stages also, the Will of the Almighty **(fol. 145a)** so manifested itself that he became blind. Its details are given below: "One day it so happened that the aforesaid Khan, who was sitting in his tent on a chair, wearing a gorgeous dress and holding a mirror in his hand, was admiring his beautiful appearance. A few of the slaves were present and one of them in flattery said, "This beauty and mastery is deserving of sovereignty. Thus if the throne comes to the lot of your goodself, it will be decorated with all your good qualities." The Khan smiled a bit and said, "The Munificence of the Almighty can render thing possible." When the mother of the Khan, who was possessed of discretion and foresight, came to know about it, she said, "The throne suits only the Timurid family, and may the Almighty present it to his descendents. For us, the servants, the happiness of service and faithfulness of this exalted family is enough."

This bad news was literally conveyed to the Emperor through the *harkara* and it made him sad. Bearing in mind the devoted services of the Khan, the Emperor postponed to react on this joke for a proper time. By chance the Khan fell ill and developed headache, which is one of the human ailments. As the nature had gifted **(fol. 145b)** the Emperor with two powerful qualities, viz. a sharp memory and the power of retention, he could recognise a person seen long back and could remember words once heard by him. The Emperor yet remembered the unsavoury words and the smile of the Khan. But as he was a faithful servant, the Emperor decided to save his life but to deprive him of his senses. A human-being was susceptible to temptation for securing gains. Therefore he summoned Fath Khan Hakim and told him that, "Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur is ill. So go to him and console him on my behalf. Give him treatment for his recovery. Adopt such measures that his eye-balls may remain intact but he loses his eye-sight." In the end, the *hakim* reached the Khan. After diagnosing his illness, he treated him in such a manner that his disease subsided, but his headache remained (as usual). (Thereafter) the *hakim* treated

his headache by taking blood out from his forehead. The treatment relieved him from headache but he lost his eyesight." Immediately, the *hakim* came out from the Khan's tent and with the latter's permission with all haste, came to the presence of the Emperor (**fol 146a**) and reported the matter. Thereafter, the Emperor sent a *harkara* to confirm the news and he reported the blindness of the Khan. So it was ordered that the army, which was placed under his command, according to the regulations, should continue to be under his son and other relations.

According to the orders of His Majesty. Prince Muhammad Azam Shah went to the tent of the Khan for consolations. Hearing it, the Khan sent his son, Chin Qilij Khan, to welcome the Prince, while he himself came up to the entrance (devdhi) and paid his respects to him (Azam). Taking the Prince inside, he placed him on the cushion (masnad) presented in *nazr* 200 (two hundred) gold coins (asharafis), an elephant, a dagger with studded gilt, three studded sarpech and one full cloth (taquuz). The Prince sat for three or four *gharis* and, satisfying him with the favours of the Emperor and his own attention, returned to his own house.[13]

FOOT NOTES

1. "The Maratha leaders were Ramchandra, Sankaraji, Santa and Dhana." Bhim Sen, II, 146b.

2. Ghalib Khan fBijapuri held the mansab of 4,000/4,000. *A.N.* 596, *598* ; *M.A. 33* ; *M.U., II, 685* ; *Dilkusha, II, 146b* also Athar Ali, op. cit., 180

3. "The Deccani soldiers carry no weapon besides the sword and the spear, and the Bijapuries (except the Marathas) do not even carry the spear...Though, in imitation of the men of N. India, they have procured artillery, they can really do nothing with it". Bhim Sen, II, 146b ; Saqi dates it May, 1690. *M.A 336.*

4. Then text reads : کاوزن

While the same was Karargaon. Mir Husain, brother of Rahim Khan, held the mansab of 1,500/1,000: *Akh. 30th Muharram, 43rd. R.Y* ; also Athar Ali, op. cit., 253.

6 The text reads : قلعہ کوزم

7. "His name was Ahmad Aqa". *See M.A. 337.* He came in (1690).

8 "Sidi Masud surrendered Adhoni fort and at the same time he came and was given the mansab. Bhim Sen, II, 96a,

9. Muhammadi Raj, the counterfeit of Maharaja Jaswant Singh died in 1688, at the age of thirteen. For details and death : *M.A. 318.*

10. Daulat Afza was born on the (15th December 1669). He was born to the daughter of Rup Singh Rathor. He died in 1688 *M.A. 93* and *314.*

11. The son was born on (17th May, 1684).

12. In the middle of the month of Muharram (10th October-November, 1688) a terrible plague broke out and carried of men...Among the highest, Firoze Jang Bahadur, who was appointed against Sambha was detained at Bijapur by the trouble in his eyes which ended after a prolonged illness, in total blindness. Then Prince Azam was given this task. (About the middle of December, 1688). *M.A. 317, 318, 319.*

Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, after conquering Adhoni, arrived near Bijapur and was attacked by plague. The Emperor ordered treatment for him, but it was fruitless, and in the end he lost his eye-sight." Bhim Sen, II, 96b.

Occurrence XVI Comprises

'THE REBELLIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE ILL-STARRED SAMBHA ; THE DISTURBANCE CREATED BY HIM IN THE IMPERIAL DOMINION AND HIS MAJESTY'S DEPARTURE FOR HIS SUPPRESSION.

A period of fourteen months had passed by after the conquest of the *Darul-Zafar*, (Bijapur). The inhabitants of the place, who had not experienced equity and justice, felt relieved of all anxiety. Soon they became prosperous (**fol. 146b**). That land was cleared of mischief-mongers and the administration was improved. Those, who were close to the imperial threshold, repeatedly reported to the Emperor on the basis of informations from Berar, Khandesh and Baklana---that, "the evil-starred Sambha and the villainous Hamir, having transgressed the line of service and fidelity, have let loose their army on the imperial territories. These unfortunate wretches have trampled under foot many cities, towns (qasbas) and villages (mauzas) and plundered and ravaged them. Especially they have humiliated and despoiled Muslim communities, Sayieds, Shaikhs, learned, divines and nobles, who were object of reverence and respect there. Many of the notables and respectable persons afflicted by the blows of time and unkindness of heaven flew to Talkokan and settled down there. Here too they were subject to treatment not suitable for Muslims. They also defeated and carried away as prisoners the imperial soldiers, who had been sent to chastise them. They have captured many wayfarers and travellers. In short, their tyranny and oppression had transcended the height of the sky." In short, the attention of

the truth loving and justice dispersing monarch, the asylum of the world, which is ever intent upon uprooting the bases of cruelty and oppression and chastising tyrants, and protecting and saving the distressed and afflicted, turned towards uprooting and destruction of those rebels **(fol. 147a).**

At an auspicious moment and proper time, the imperial army left *Darul Zafar* (Bijapur) for Junair. Also orders (farmans) were sent to all the illustrious nobles (amirs) that they should come from wherever they might be and join the imperial army with all speed. After traversing many stages successfully, the imperial army encamped at the bank of Bhimra. During the same period, the Emperor was filled with the desire of witnessing elephants fight. Three or four times, he made the elephants fight each other and it amused him much. At the same place, Abdul Razzaq Haiderabadi joined the imperial service. The Emperor bestowed upon him a *mansab* of 4000/3000 *zat* and *sawars* with a sword, a robe of honour (khilat-i-fakhra), a standard (alam) and drum (naqara).

Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur recovered (from his illness) and came to pay his respect to the Emperor. Therefore, it was ordered that Mutalib Khan should welcome the Khan at the entrance (devedhi) of audience hall (khas-o-am) and Bahramand Khan should escort him (the Khan) to the *Ghusal Khana*. Accordingly, the aforementioned Khans went ahead and led him to the imperial audience. The Khan came and paid his respects by performing the rites of *taslims* and *kurnish*. He presented 1,000 (one thousand) gold mouhars (Asharafis) as *nazr* and Rs. 2,000/- (two thousand) as *nisar* **(fol. 147b)**, and kissed the feet of the Emperor. The Emperor placed his hand on the back of the Khan which raised his honour to the height of sky and conferred upon him a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) and (gave) Rs. 5,000 (five thousand) in cash. Rustam Khan, who had also presented *nazr* along with (Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur), was exalted with a robe (khilat). Later, Husain Khan and Badshah Quli Khan, the sons of Sidi Masud Khan, paid their respects to

the Emperor and presented *nazr* and *nisar* and they were also exalted with the grant of special robes (khilat-i-khasa).

The Emperor encamped near the bank of Bhimra.[1] At midnight, he summoned Khan Firoze Jang in privacy and, showing the plans of the fort of Rahiri, ordered him to make arrangements for its capture. After four days the Emperor conferred upon the said Khan a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), a sword with golden hilt, belonging to Dara Shikoh, an elephant, five horses and one of them with golden trappings. Thereafter he prayed to the Almighty and read "Fataha" for the accomplishment of it and gave the Khan permission to leave for the suppression of the ill-starred, Sambha, and the conquest of the fort of Rahiri. Two lakhs of rupees were given in cash as assistance (*masaida*) to the Khan. Prince Muhammad Azam Shah and Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur were also ordered to march deep into the dominion of that wretched person and to exert themselves to their best to imprison or kill him. In short the large army entered the boundaries of the dominions of that ill-natured person (Sambha) (fol. 148a).[2]

The Emperor extended favours to Prince Muhammad Muazzam. The details are as follows : "Yaqut Khan, the Khwaja Sara, was ordered to bring the Prince (Muazzam) with his sons so that they might enjoy a visit to the audience hall (khas-o-am), the *Ghusal Khana* and the court of justice." The Khwaja Sara carried out the orders. He then reported that "the Prince while acknowledging with thanks the continuous favours of His Majesty, begs to request if similar generosity makes its appearance from the horizon of kindness over the realm of his affairs, he would be able to fill the forehead of his good fortune with the light gathered from kissing the happiness bringing feet." The Emperor replied, "The expression of such attention is the complete means for the attainment of his desires and wrote back a couplet :- There is a fixed time for every action. God Willing that time too will be available at the proper circumstances." Sidi Masud Khan died. So Ihtamam Khan,

the marshal (mir tuzuk), sealed his camp and wanted to confiscate all his property, but on the representations of his relatives, His Majesty, very graciously restored it to them (**fol. 148b**). According to orders Salabat Khan and Husain Khan etc. brought out from mourning the sons of the deceased Khan and led them into the court. The Emperor conferred robes (*khilats*) upon everyone of them.

The Emperor learnt from the petition (arz-dasht) of Amir-ul-Umara that Gopal Singh and six other persons from among the kinsmen and sons of (late) Pahad Singh Gaur, had come to him and offered the tribute (peshkash) of Rs. 85,000 in cash and kind on condition of the award of high *mansabs* and posting in Kabul and that the cash had been deposited in the public exchequer of Akbarabad. He added further that he hoped the Emperor would forgive their faults. As the recommendation of that pillar of state (Ruknus Sultanat) was proper and appropriate it was accepted. And everyone was reinstated in his former post and rank. An order was issued that after six months, when they had fully equipped themselves, they might leave for Kabul.[3] Aqil Khan, the *Nazim* of province (suba) of Shahjahanabad, sent his tribute (peshkash), containing one piece of ruby (alams) weighing one hundred and seventy misqal. It was placed before His Majesty which valued at Rs. 8,000 was accepted. Besides this, a gold embroidered (?) of Gujarat was also sent. The tribute (peshkash) of Shujaet Khan was placed before the exalted presence and it was also accepted with pleasure.

A great success (**fol. 149a**), which was recently obtained was the capture of the condemned, Sambha which exhibited itself through the Grace of The Absolute Conqueror. The details were on the following lines... "Kabkalas, (whose account has already been mentioned in the earlier portion of the book) was the pivot of the affairs of shameless Sambha his chief wakil (wakil-i-mutalaq). After the death of his father (Shiva), the shameless creature gathered all power into his hands. In fact, in strengthening the forts and in administerring and ordering the affairs of state, he became all in all and

he raised himself to the highest position of authority. So some of the officers of Sambha became jealous of his rise and position and they wanted to pull him down from his power and to install somebody else in his place. They were engaged day and night in destroying him and misrepresenting his virtues and good deeds and they were able to have him dismissed from the post of Diwani. Thus disgraced, he began to reside in the fort of Khulna. But his enemies from sheer short-sightedness deemed even his stay there, improper. So they girt up their loins to bring about his death. When he found his safety jeopardised, accompanied by some of the disgruntle servants of Sambha, he arrived at the court of His Majesty, exalted himself by gathering the felicity of kissing the threshold. The Emperor granted *mansabs* to Kabkalas and his followers, according to their merits.[4] When the seditionist Sambha came to know of it, he arrested their brothers and relations and put them to torture (**fol. 149b**). Seeing the success of Kabkalas and his followers, some other servants (of Sambha) came and got themselves enrolled in the imperial service, which disrupted the administration of his state.

Meanwhile the imperial army successfully reached the vicinity of Junair and after its conquest, heralded a benevolent shadow of kindness upon the inhabitants of the place. They were happy and content in the cradle of His Majesty's just and equitable rule.[5] Meanwhile, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, with his nobles (amirs) addressed himself to the task of laying siege to the forts of Rajgarh, Rahiri and Mahaveli. The successes of the bands of the victory practising warriors in the neighbouring forts conveyed to the ears of insurgents and contumelious. The noise of their fort capturing ability made Sambha himself much perturbed. As he had no confidence in any of his officers, he decided to call (back) Kabkalas and through correspondence hinted at reconciliation. He sent a message saying (**fol. 150a**), "Whatever has taken place between you and me, was because of certain jealous enemies of yours. I repent my inability to guess the truth. Now do not take into consideration the action of that wretched band

and come with all haste not only to help me at this juncture, but also take into your hands the task of defending the country and repulsing the enemy. And you will be able to discharge the obligation of the salt, which you have eaten for so many years. But if by closing your eyes to it, you want that disruption overtakes the country and it passes into other hands, you are welcome to think like that." In short, as Kabkalas[6] had been pierced by his arrows of punishment and tormentation and his wounded heart had not been assurged, indeed his nature had gone wrong way ; his nature had been split by hurtful injury... so that dark-hearted fellow, finding an opportune time for revenge and becoming ready to avenge himself on him lay himself in ambush to bring about his death and sent a reply saying "I am the same devoted servant and sacrificing attendant. It is patent that I have been throughout my life patronised and cherished by you and passed my time in greatest delight and pleasure. My sincerity expressing heart by now seems clouded with the lapse which is deserving of no import. I attribute the punishment, given to me to my evil days and I ever deem myself under obligation to my master for his favours and kindness. I consider it a great good luck to come to you, but I am afraid of selfish enemies and wretched rivals lest after I have obtained that exaltation, they should again throw me into the vortex of calamity by adverse comments and unfavourable remarks, which in appearance might look nearer truth and be explicitly slander and should make utmost efforts to destroy me (fol. 150b). Therefore, if my lord and master has decided to summon me back, some of his nobles are residing in the fort of Khulnah. I am ready to come there, render you service there and having satisfied my mind with compacts and promises will address myself to the discharge of duties assigned to me." As Sambha was to see bad days, he fell a victim to Kabkalas' deceit and, accompanied by a few persons, reached there. After his arrival there, he summoned Kabkalas, who, getting the news of Sambha's approach, impelled by feelings of revenge, sent a message to Ikhlas Khan and Bahadur Khan, who were besieging the fort of Parnala saying: "The wild prey, who has for years

been flying after much efforts, has been ensnared. Gallop fast and come to the fort of Khulnah so that the prey might fall into your hands. Till, your arrival, I shall do my level best to keep him calm and satisfied." Thereafter, Kabkalas hurriedly went into the fort (of Khulnah) and presented himself before that unfortunate person (Sambha) and tried to console him with all sort of profession of sincerity and good faith.

The aforesaid Khans, raising the siege of the fort of Parnala and considering the said work more important, started to accomplish it as quick as possible.[7] Traversing a distance of forty *karohs* (**fol. 151a**) in six quarters (pahars), they reached the fort of Khulnah and opened its siege. At last, that unfortunate person (Sambha) woke up from his slumber.[8] The fort lacked adequate materials and food to render it strong. And he had a large number of soldiers but he lost his nerves. He resigned himself to death and, placing his life in the palm of his hand, accompanied by a few men, came out of the fort and attacked the imperial army, thinking that it would give him a chance to effect his escape (from there). But both the Khans, who had fully prepared their forces for the conflict, rushed from all sides to encircle him. Consequently a conflict took place and the imperial soldiers, trying to surpass each other, killed 400 (four hundred) followers of Sambha, while the enemy was able to kill 250 (two hundred and fifty) men (of the imperial army).[9] The mischievous Sambha made all efforts to run away, but he could not. At last, Sambha was taken prisoner by the courageous soldiers (of the imperial army). Kabkalas, as a measure of safety, got himself arrested alongwith the accursed Sambha.[10]

The news of the capture of the wretched Sambha was communicated to the Emperor through the petition (arz-dasht) of Prince Wala Jah Muhammad Azam Shah. The next day, Khandoji, the *harkara* of Ikhlas Khan, presenting himself before the Emperor, also submitted a detailed account (of the whole incident). After other *harkaras* had repeatedly and again and

again had announced the news to all and sundry (khas-o-am) (fol. 151b). So the Emperor ordered that the drums of success be sounded. The nobles (amirs) who were present there, congratulated the Emperor and presented nazr and *nisar*, according to their rank and position.[11] The person, who had brought the petition (arz-dasht) (of Prince Azam) and Khandoji *harkara* (of Ikhlas Khan) was given rewards beyond his expectations. *Mansabs* of Ikhlas Khan and Bahadur Khan were raised. They were also given robes (khilats), swords with studded hilts, elephants and horses. An order (farman) was sent to the aforementioned Khans saying : "The unfortunate person (Sambha) should be conducted to the imperial threshold with great care."[12]

'Conquest of the Fort of Rahiri'

It was reported to the Emperor by the *harkaras* that Janoji, Keshoji and other ignoble chiefs (na-sardars) of Sambha took his family to the fort of Rahiri, which they had strengthened with adequate artillery also. Thus they, having collected a large army, were determined to fight a battle with the army of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, who was there. Thereafter, the Emperor despatched Bahramand Khan with a few *mansabdars* for the assistance of the Prince. (The Emperor) bestowed bows and arrows upon the aforesaid Khan and gave them leave to go. Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur, according to the imperial orders, separating himself from the Prince, had gone to conquer the land of Sambha. From there, he sent a petition (arz-dasht), containing the news of the conquest of that place with its golden key and it was placed before the Emperor. He conferred high rewards upon him (the Khan) and summoned him to the court (fol. 152a). Dilir Khan, Rustam Khan and Raja Anup Singh, who were attached to the army of the Khan, were ordered to join the Prince (Azam). Sidi Miftah Khan, Man Singh, Haji Afzal and other nobles (amirs) were allowed to leave just after receiving a rise in their *mansabs* with robes (khilats), swords and daggers. After a few days Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur, who had been summoned to the exalted presence, paid his respects to the Emperor and he became the recipient of many presents.

The lofty intention of the Emperor was focused on the conquest of Rahiri fort. Its conquest was entrusted to the Prince Muhammad Azam Shah and Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Except fighting a few battles with the enemy, they had not achieved anything else there. Therefore His Majesty, conferring a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur, a sword with studded hilt, appointed him for its conquest. The Emperor further instructed the Khan that after reaching the presence of the Prince "he should request him to supply whatever army was needed (for its conquest) and also whoever he wanted from amongst the followers of the Prince, and that after reaching the fort, he should adopt such means as might bring it under the control of the officers of the state and chastise the rebels of that district (zila)." (fol. 152b) The Khan after leaving the exalted presence and covering many stages, arrived in the presence of the Prince and paid his respects to him. He stayed there for three days. Selecting some experienced men from among the followers of the Prince, he marched hastily towards the fort of Rahiri. (Arriving there) he encamped at a distance of two *karohs* from it. The fort, in its build up, had no parallel and was considered to be one of the strongest forts of Talkokan. With the exception of one road there was no other way, which could be used for negotiating it. On account of its being protected by hills, digging up of a tunnel and throwing up of lasso (kamand) was also not practicable. The Khan, accompanied by Aqa Ali Khan and a band of soldiers, galloping their horses, reached the foot of the fort, where the evil-minded wretches had pitched their camp. When the garrison opened fire from the fort many of the followers of the Khan were killed. Upon this, the Khan set fire to their camp and returned. Thus he established an outpost (thana) near the big pass, which was situated outside the fort. Then he returned to his own camp. He had hardly got down from his mount when Hameer, the accursed rebel, arrived with a large force from the side of the fort of Satara and he posted contingent of his soldiers in the skirts to cut off the supply of corn to the imperial camp (fol. 153a). And then with his multitudinous rabble, he appeared before the imperial

camp and started to fight. Zulfiqar Khan with his strong army challenged the rebels. The exchange of artillery continued from both sides and it pilled a large number of men and horses. Meanwhile a contingent of the imperial soldiers, having gone two steps forward, joined issue with the enemy so a deadly conflict ensued. On the rebels' side about 1,500 (one thousand five hundred) persons were killed while the imperial army lost 900 (nine hundred). In this situation the ill-starred enemy, unable to resist, fled away from the field of battle. Soon the contingent of ill-starred, posted in the skirts to intercept the means of communications also took to its heels, and the communications of the imperial camp were restored. The Khan encircled the fort from all sides and started to construct batteries (damdamas). Putting his artillery on its damdamas top by opening fire, he made the situation too hot for the garrison. So much so that the defenders getting tired, saw no other way of their escape except surrendering the keys of the fort (to the Khan). They sent a message of peace to the Khan, containing the promise of surrendering the keys of the fort (to him). They requested (the Khan) to get their faults pardoned and sought an assurance from the Emperor (fol. 153b). Coming out of the fort, accompanied by the family of the accursed Sambha, they joined the imperial forces. Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur treated each one of them, according to his status and consoled and comforted them. Thereafter, the Khan sent to the court a petition (arz-dasht), containing report of "the conquest of the fort and also its golden keys," and sent servants of the state to look after the defences of the fort.[13] From there, the Khan, accompanied by the *mansabdars*, who were posted with him, went towards the fort of Partap Garh and laid a siege to it (also). After a (brief) skirmish, he captured it and placed it under the control of the imperial servants. He despatched a petition (arz-dasht), communicating the news of the conquest of fort of Partap Garh with its golden keys, one piece of ruby and three costly pearls. The petition (arz-dasht) and the presents were laid before the Emperor, which made him immensely happy and he ordered that the drums of success be sounded. The fort of Rahiri was renamed Uttam Garh.[14]

Jumdat-ul-Mulk Madarul Maham presented 200 (two hundred) gold coins (asharafis) as *nazr* and Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) as *nisar* with a studded *chaukra* of Sheraton stone (sange-e-sheem) and a necklace of 1,000 (one thousand) pearls. Ruhullah Khan presented 500 gold coins (asharafis) and other nobles (amirs) also presented *nazr* and *nisar*, according to their status. Except the *nazr* and *nisar* offered by Jumdat-ul-Mulk. Madarul Maham and Ruhullah Khan, those of others were returned. Thereafter, the Emperor conferred a special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon Jumdat-ul-Mulk and a sword with a studded hilt ; a robe of honour (khilat-i-fakhra), a dagger with diamond hilt upon Ruhullah Khan, and others also received presents, according to their status (fol. 154a). The Prince was awarded a *nadri* suit lined with pearls, a chira, having a studded sarpech (all) worth Rs. 1,04,000 (one lakh and four thousand). All this was sent through Saadat Khan to the Prince.

An order (farman) was issued under the Emperor's signature, summoning Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur and Bahadur Khan to the court alongwith the sons and the family of the accursed, Sambha. Accordingly, Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur with Sivaji, Man Singh, Madan Singh, the sons of the seditionist, Sambha, his mother, wife and others reached in the presence of the Emperor and presented 200 gold coins (asharafis) as *nazr* and 200 gold mouhars (asharafis) as *nisar*, two boxes of the Jewels and treasures of Sambha. All that was handed over to Fazil Khan. Sarfaraz Khan, Sayied Yadgar Husain Khan, Sayied Azmatullah Khan, Muzaffar Khan, Dwarkadas and others, who were with Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur, presented their *nazr* and *nisar* also, which were remitted to them by the Emperor. And the aforesaid Khan was exalted and honoured with the grant of robe of honour (khilat-i-fakhra) and other great favours. When the three sons of the accursed Sambha were introduced to the Emperor by the aforesaid Khan, each of them exalted himself by performing the rites of *kurnish* and *taslims* and each one of them according to his status, was granted the title of Raja. (fol. 154b), a high *mansab*, elephants, horses and other favours. Officers

were appointed to look after their affairs and orders were issued for their training and education. The mother and the wife of Sambha received studded jewellery and different types of clothes.[15] Khekoji, Ranoji and Janoji etc. important servants of Sambha, who had come with his sons and the other members of his family also received *mansabs*,cash, horses and other articles, according to their respective positions.[16] Sixteen servants (khidmatgars) of Muhammad Akbar and the family of Abdul Qadir Khan, who, having obtained their release, had accompanied the family of Sambha. It was ordered that the two of them should be consigned to the palace and the rest be freed. The family of 'Abdul Qadir Khan was handed over to the men of the Khan and the fort of Rahiri was named Uttam Garh.

Ikhlas Khan and Bahadur Khan arrived with the accursed Sambha and the wretched Kabkalas and a few ignoble chiefs (na-sardars) near the imperial camp with the intention of kissing the exalted threshold. According to the imperial orders, Ikhlas Khan and Hameedudin Khan placed the wretched Sambha, Kabkalas etc., on camel's back and with great humiliation brought them to the royal camp (Urdu-i-Mualla) (**fol. 155a**). When they reached the entrance of the audience hall (khas-o-am), it was ordered that the enemy be made a stand by the side of the court of justice near the river. And in obedience to the imperial orders, he and his companions were made to stand there. When the shadow of God looked at him (Sambha), his heart was touched at his wretched and ignoble condition.[17] After that he opened his repentance seeing eyes, came down from the elevated throne and offered (*do-gana*) prayers to the Almighty. But the accursed person on account of conceit and pride, refused to perform the rites of *taslims* (to the Emperor). Ikhlas Khan and Hameedudin Khan urged him to perform it but to no effect. Later, it was ordered that a tent be pitched near that of Sikander Khan and they be lodged there. Kabkalas and other followers of Sambha should be put in fetters and strict watch be kept on them.[18]

After his (Sambha's) imprisonment, Ikhlas Khan came to pay his respects to the Emperor. According to the imperial orders, Ruhullah Khan received him at the gate of *Ghusal Khana* and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. The aforesaid Khan moved by the sense of complete fidelity and sincerity, which is a source of the rise of his fortune and elevation of his status illumionised his forehead in the special assembly by benting his head of gratitude (*Sijdas*) and offered 500 gold coins (asharafis) as *nazr* and Rs. 1,000 as *nisar* and kissed the Emperor's feet And His Majesty, the Khalifa of the Merciful (fol. 155b) from sheer kindness placed his auspicious hands on his forehead, praised and appreciated him with his tongue of revelation. He conferred the title of khan-i-zaman Fath Jang Khan upon him and made an increase of 1,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars* in his *mansab* and gave Rs. 50,000 as reward (inam). In addition, he received a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), a sword with studded handle, an elephant, five horses and one of them with golden trappings. After this the said Khan offered his thanks for this grand favour. Thereafter, Bahadur Khan and Rustam Khan also received lofty titles and marks of favour.

After two days, Ruhullah Khan was asked by the Emperor to question Sambha about his hidden treasures, jewels, diamonds and other articles and to ascertain as to whom from among the imperial nobles (amirs) was in correspondence with him. According to a saying: "A person, who is destined to die, utters whatever comes to his mind." So that haughty person began to utter foolish and abusive words for the king.[19] The Khan did not repeat to the Emperor all that had fallen from his evil tongue, but only a part of it by way of hint and suggestion. Upon this the Emperor ordered that he should be blinded. It was done.[20] But that haughty and proud person from humiliation, refused to take his meals from that day. The imperial guards tried their level best to feed him, but he blankly refused and for sometime he went without food (fol 156a). When the matter was reported to the Emperor, as his (Sambha's) death had approached him, an imperial order (hasbul hukm) was

issued that he be taken to the house of punishment, where his limbs be hacked off one by one and his head be paraded from Aurangabad to Burhanpur and later (it) be hung by the gate of Shahjahanabad.[21]

'Conquest of the Fort of Premgarh'

Bahramand Khan sought the special permission for the the conquest of fort of Premgarh from Prince Muhammad Azam Shah. He reached it with the imperial army and laid siege to it, which continued for two months and twenty days. During this time while there occurred an exchange of gun fire, the enemy, from time to time collecting a large force, surprised the imperial army and after some fighting disappeared. At last one day Anbuji, the commandant of the fort came out with a large contingent of troops to fight with the imperial army. The rival forces were arranged against each other. First of all, there was an exchange of gunfire, which followed by the discharge of missile and grenades. Thereafter, the cavalry (sawars), spurring its horses, fought a fierce battle. (In the thick of battle) Khwaja Qamruddin Bakhshi and the news reporter (waqa-i-nigar) of the imperial army died alongwith a few other *mansabdars.* In the same manner 1,000 (one thousand) other persons also died. (fol. 156b). Uttam Hazari Carnatici, with his 200 (two hundred) followers and 500 (five hundred) other musketeers was wounded. On the side of rebels, 2,000 (two thousand) persons were killed or wounded. At last, the rebels, having no courage to stay, ran away. (After their flight) the Khan erected the batteries (damdamas), placing the guns on the top, bombarded the walls and ramparts of the fort and demolished some of their portion. Because of the shortage of gun-balls and provisions, the position of its garrisons became precarious. Anbuji, the commandant and his other followers found no alternative for escape except that of surrendering the fort to the imperial servants. They requested for an assurance (from the Khan). He met them, consoled and satisfied them. He appointed Mir Niamat to look after the defences of the fort. Thereafter, he despatched to the Emperor a petition (arz-dasht), describing the conquest of the

fort and its golden key. When these were placed before the Emperor, he greatly praised the action of the Khan and conferred imperial favours upon him.

'Conquest of the Fort of Satara'

In the fort of Satara a despicable chief (na-sardar) named Hameer had collected a large force of the seditionists. Now and then coming out of it, he surprised the imperial army and had skirmishes with it. Prince Muhammad Azam Shah appointed Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur as the vanguard of the victorious imperial army **(fol. 157a)** and then left for its conquest.

He, overcoming many obstacles, encamped at a distance of three *karohs* from the fort. As the fort was perched on a hill and its top rubbed the stars in the sky and as its turrets and battlements were strengthened with a park of artillery and its slopes and dense jungle rendered it difficult to approach it. The victorious army besieged it for three months. During this while there continued an exchange of gunfire, but brave warriors of Islam could not conquer it.

At last, the Emperor himself turned thither to conquer and chastise the rebels. When the Emperor arrived near it, the Prince (Azam), Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Bahramand Khan and other nobles (amirs) came forward to welcome him and gathered the felicity of attendance upon him. The imperial camp was pitched at the distance of one *karoh* from that of the Prince. The nobles (amirs) were appointed to surround it from all sides. And the entrenchments (morchals) were arranged. After these preparations, a battle of guns ensued. For three months, day and night fire rained carelessly like water. In spite of this occasionally the condemned rabble surprised the imperial army and after hot skirmishes, hurried away. Sometimes the imperial soldiers dashed to the foot of the fort. Those mischief-mongers rained stones from the top of the fort, which did more harm than the cannon-balls. Artillery-fire and stones killed a large number of soldiers and men. **(fol. 157b)**. Because of the activity of

the enemy, the communications to the imperial camp were disrupted. Price of grains shot up. The soldiers and the creation of God were exposed to sufferings. A large number of soldiers and beasts died. However actively the Emperor and the nobles (amirs) exerted themselves but their attempts proved fruitless. The Emperor's intention was that till the completion of this task, no other assignment should be undertaken.

Therefore Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, having thought of it, sent a message to Kishnaji Rao, the brother of Hameer Rao, the commandant of the fort, who had fought prominently against the imperial army to this effect, "your despicable chief (na-sardar) Sambha, who dared oppose and came into conflict with our God-given empire in retribution for his evil-actions, has become a prisoner of his doom and, falling a prey to the royal anger, which like Divine vengeance has washed his hands clean of existence. And as his sons and relatives prayed to the exalted court, which is the asylum of the rulers of seven climes, although Sambha was guilty of the unpardonable crimes, His Majesty moved by feelings of royal kindness pardoned them and exalted them to high ranks and granted them other favours (**fol. 158a**). Therefore to oppose this eternity bound and enemy trampling empire count your own destruction. Hence if fate leads you aright and your good luck helps you, surrender the fort to the nobles (amirs) of the empire, accept the imperial service and be honoured with wishes for promotions and be exalted among your compeeres. Otherwise you shall have to reap the fruits of your own actions." As his fortune was guiding him towards promotion, he accepted imperial service and requested an assurance and the impression (panja) of the Emperor. The aforesaid Khan placed the matter before the Emperor, who admired his far-sightedness. The Emperor ordered that, "a farman should be drawn up, giving the requisite assurances with the impression of his hand, and it be sent to the Khan." It was despatched to Kishanji. On the receipt of the despatch, Kishanji sent words that "let the Khan next morning advance with his fully accurated and

equipped army and arriving at the main gate, should assault it. I shall fire blank shells. On the given signal, without fear, you should reach the gate of the fort and enter into it." Accordingly, next morning after one pass of the day the Khan, accompanied by large army and important nobles (amirs), rushed for it. From the top of the fort the artillery discharged blank shells, injuring no one. At last, reaching the gate of the fort, the Khan entered it. Kishanji and his officers came to the Khan and submitted to him. The Khan embraced Kishanji (**fol. 158b**), assuring him of the exalted kindnesses, conducted him to the presence of the Emperor and presented him there. Kishanji performed the rites of *kurnish*. The Emperor bestowed upon him and his followers high *mansabs*. Then Emperor ordered that the drums of of success be sounded. Mirza Ali Ahmad, who (already) held the *mansab* of 500/100 *zat* and *sawars*, got an increase of 200 *zat* and 50 *sawars* and was appointed its commandant. Asad Khan was ordered to prepare the plan of the fort and send it to all the provinces (subas) of the empire with the imperial order (hasbul hukm), explaining this great success, so that the faithful servants of the state, after hearing this good news, may be happy and thankful to the Almighty. Asad Khan obeyed the imperial orders and acted accordingly."[22]

FOOT NOTES

1. "On Wed. 1st. Rabi II, A.H. 1098 (the 25th January, 1688) the Emperor started for Bijapur. On Tuesday the 14th Rabi, II, A.H. 1098 (the 7th February, 1688), the Emperor reached Zafarabad, Bidar and lodged at the bank of Kamthanah." *M.A.* 308.

2. "Prince Muhammad Azam Shah was sent with an army and some experienced nobles (*amirs*) to punish the infidels of Bahadurgarh and Gulshanabad. Firoze Jang, with another army, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Rajgarh. Muqarrab Khan otherwise called Shaikh Nizam Haiderabadi, was sent against the infidel Sambha. The strength of the Prince's army was 40,000 experienced troops." K.K. II, 308.

3. "On 6th November, 1693 A.D., Kirat Singh, a son of Pahad Singh, brought 250 (two hundred and fifty) Gaur recruits to the Emperor and was paid Rs. 25 (twenty five) for each." *Akhbarat, year 36.*

4. Kabkalas did not desert Sambha. He was with him till the last. See *M.A. 331* and K.K. II, 340.

5. The imperial army reached Junair, on 3rd. Jamad, 1098, (25th Feb. 1688). "On Thursday, 22nd Jamad A.H. 1098 (the 15th March, 1688), the Emperor reached that city." *M.A. 310.*

6. Saqi calls him Kavikalash. Verses have been left out. See *fol. 150a.*

7. "Shaikh Nizam Haiderabadi, surnamed Muqarrab Khan, was appointed to capture the fort of Parnala, which was in Sambha's hands. He sent spies to bring in news of the infidel. The spies reported that on account of his feud with the family of the Shirkes, who were connected with him by kinship, he had gone away from Rahiri to Khulnah and after making a settlement with that family and gaining composure of mind about provisioning this fort, he had gone to Sangameswar where his minister Kavikalash had constructed garden and lofty building, and was there engaged in merriment and pleasure". *M.A., 320-21,* see also K.K. II, 340.

8. Sambhuji had been warned of the approach of an enemy force, but had rebuked his spies for their pains, saying, "you careless fellows, you are mad. Can any Mughal troop reach here"? *M.A., 321.*

   "He ordered the tongues of his spies to be cut out (evidently a graphic touch from Khafi Khan's imagination). K.K. II, 385.

9. "Sambhuji had rapidly shaved off his hair and beard, smeared himself with ashes and put on the guise of a Sanyasi, but he was recognised by the necklace of pearls he wore under his dress and the

gold rings round the felt-locks of his horse." K.K. II, 386. "Ikhlas Khan with a party of brave men entered the room by the narrow steps, dragged the Raja and his minister out of the whole by their hair, and took them to the general on his elephant outside." *M.A. 320-22.*

10. "Muqarrab Khan after patiently enduring much fatigue suddenly came upon Sambha with the speed of lightning or the wind, that accursed wretch charged him with the support of four or five thousand Deccani spearmen; Kavikalash was accidently hit and fled. *Ibid.* 312. "Kabkalas did his best to save him and with a party of Maratha, advanced to meet the flight he received an arrow in the right arm, which rendered the limb useless. He fell from his horse exclaiming that he would remain there. Sambha, who was about to flight by sprang from his horse, and said that he would stay with him. Four or five Marathas were cut down, but all the rest of Sambha's men fled. Kabkalas was taken prisoner." K.K. II, 388.

11. The merry music of victory resounded through the sky, peace and security were restored. Disorder sank. Satan was chained." *M.A. 320.*

    "He was staying alongwith Abul Razaq Lari, near the fort of Rahiri, which was built by Shivaji. He heard from the people of the neighbourhood that Shivaji, although an infidel and a rebel, was a wise man. The country around may be called a specimen of hell, for it is hilly and stormy. In the hot season water is very scarce, which is a great trouble to the inhabitants. Shivaji had a well dug near his abode. A pavement was laid down round the mouth, and a stone was erected. Upon this bench Shivaji would take his seat and when the women of the traders and poor people came to draw water, he would give their children fruit and talk to the women as to his mother and sisters. Sambha also used to sit upon this bench; and when the wives and daughters of the raiyat come to draw water, the wild dog would lay one hand upon their pitcher and another upon their waist, and drag them to the seat there he would handle them roughly and indecently, and detain them for a while. The poor woman, unable to help herself, would dash the pitcher from her head, but she could not escape without gross insult. At length the raiyat of the land settled by his father, abandoned it, and fled to the territory of the Farangis, which was not far off. He received the reward of his deeds. K.K. II, 390.

12. The man, who was present there, was Muqarrab Khan. K.K. II, 391.

13. Ishwardas confuses Satara with Salhir.

14. Ishwardas confuses the fort of Rahiri with Raigarh. Itiqad Khan has been confused with Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur. "As early as

December 1688 A.D., Itiqad Khan (a son of the Wazir, Asad Khan) had been deputed to lay siege to Raigarh. After a long struggle, he captured it on 19th Oct., 1689, and seized in it Shiva's surviving widows, Sambha's and Raja Ram's daughters and sons, including Sahu, a boy of seven." *M.A. 331*, see also K K. II, 384.

15. "The captives were brought to the imperial camp at Goregaon on 23rd November 1689 A.D. The ladies were lodged in a separate tent with every respect and privacy. Sahu was given the rank of 7,000 and the title of Raja but was kept a prisoner near the imperial tent, while his brothers, Madan Singh and Adhu Singh were permitted to live with their mothers and grand mothers with proper allowances and establishments of officers." *M.A. 332*. See also K.K. II, 386
16. Ishwardas says that the three commanders of Sambha and his sons were given mansab-i-aliya. Generally the mansabdars of 1,000 and above were recorded as having the mansab-i-aliya. Also Athar Ali, op. cit., 271.
17. Muqarrab Khan made him ride behind him on the same elephant and the other captives were chained and carried off some on elephants and some on horses." K.K. II, 385-87.
18. "When Aurangzeb was as tradition praying Kavikalash addressed impromptu Hindi verses to Shambhuji saying, "O Raja; even Aurangzeb dare not sit on throne in thee presence but must kneel to do thee homage." *Ibid.*, II, 388.
19. K.K. says that some of the state councillors advised that their (Sambha and Kabkala's) lives should be spared and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the forts held by the adherents of Sambha. So both Sambha and Kabkalas indulging in abusive language, had uttered the most offensive remarks in the presence of the Emperor's servants." K.K. II, 390.
20. "The Emperor ordered that the tongues of both (Sambha and Kabkalas) should be cut out, so that they might no longer speak disrespectfully. After that their eyes were to be torn out." *Ibid.*, II, 391; *M.A.* 323.
21. "Then, with ten or eleven other persons they were to be put to death with a variety of torture, and lastly he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambha and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Deccan, with beat of drums and sound of trumps." K.K. II, 390.

    "After the arrival of the Emperor at Goregaon on Sunday the 12th Jamad I, 1099 (3rd. March, 1689), Sambha was executed alongwith Kavikalash with the sword on Monday the 29th Jamad, I, (11th March, 1689)." *M.A.*, 325; see also *Insha*, 156b; *Storia*, II, 311.
22. Satara was captured on 21 April, 1700 A.D. from Subhanji. Ishwardas confuses Satara with Salhir. He gives a good account of it.

Occurrence XVII Comprises

THE CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF RAJGARH, PURSUIT OF RAJA RAM, THE YOUNGER BROTHER OF SAMBHA AND (HIS) ARRIVAL IN THE HOME OF THE RANI.

The *harkaras* reported to the Emperor that, "Raja Ram, the younger brother of the accursed Sambha, had taken protection in the fort of Rajgarh and Partap Rao, Hameer Rao, Rupa Bhonsle, Anbuji Khosle and other despicable chiefs (na-sardars) had also gathered round him."[1] Immediately, the Emperor appointed Raja Kishore Singh for its conquest and Mir Inayatullah, Mir Abdus Samad, Mirza Khalil-ullah (fol. 159a) etc. and fifty other *mansabdars* were ordered to accompany the said Raja. He was instructed that he should adopt such measures that : "Raja Ram and others, who had gathered round him be taken alive. If not, he (should) be killed(with them). But it was to be seen that they did not escape. The Emperor gave the Raja permission to leave."

After getting the permission, the aforesaid Raja covered the journey and reached near (the said) fort. For a month and fifteen days, there was an exchange of artillery fire between them. By chance the gunpowder magazine of the enemy caught fire, its explosion at places blew up the fortifications and killed 200 (two hundred) soldiers of the enemy, and some of its debris fell into the imperial entrenchments. Raja Ram getting perplexed, offered to submit to the impe-

rial officers. For two or three days, he excused himself on the plea of auspicious hour and procrastinated. At night he came out of the fort with Partap Rao, Hameer Rao and other despicable chiefs (na-sardars) and took to flight.[2] (After the flight of Raja Ram) the aforesaid Raja entered the fort and sent a petition (arz-dasht) intimating its conquest and escape of the former to the Prince (Muhammad Azam) who forwarded the said petition (arz-dasht) and the golden keys of the fort to His Majesty. (It was placed before the Emperor), he saw it, gave Rs. 100 (hundred) as reward (inam) (to the messenger), a robe (khilat) to Mir Ghiyasuddin, the *wakil* of the Prince (Azam) (fol. 159b), granted an increase of 200 (two hundred) horsemen (sawars) in the *mansab* of Raja Kishore Singh and appointed Abdul Khair Khan its commandant.[3]

Sayied Abdullah Khan and Bahadur Khan were ordered that reliable spy be sent to ascertain the whereabouts of Raja Ram and his followers ; and that on getting the required information, they should march rapidly and either arrest those unfortunate persons or kill them.

It was reported that Keshoji Pandit, "an important chief (sardar) of Raja Ram, with evil intentions and a large force (lashkar) had left for the Carnatic." So Sayied Abdullah Khan and Bahadur Khan postponed the pursuit of Raja Ram, and they were ordered to chastise the Pandit.

Meanwhile, Nahar Khan, the *faujdar* of Payin (ghat) submitted that, "Raja Ram had passed by the territory of his (faujdari) at a distance of 25 (twenty five) *karohs* and had gone towards Badhunur." The Emperor made up his mind to chastise the accursed rebel. He conferred upon Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur a robe of honour (khilat-i-fakhra), ensigns carried upon elephant (mah-i-maratib), belonging to Sambha, a horse with golden trappings, a studded sword, a quiver and a special bow, appointed him for his (Raja Ram's) chastisements and gave him permission to go (for his assignment). The *mansabs* of Sarfaraz Khan, Ghazanfar Khan, Azmatul-

lah Khan, Mujahid Khan, Barq Andaz Khan, Raja Indar Singh, Raja Shiv Singh, Khanduji and Madhoji etc. were raised and they were ordered to accompany the aforesaid Khan. Likewise an increase of 500 (five hundred) in the *mansab* of Abdul Karim Khan (**fol. 160a**), who was a house-born (khanazad), was made. Having been appointed the vanguard of the imperial army, he was ordered to march one stage ahead (of the army).

When the Khan (Zulfiqar Khan) had covered four or five stages, Sayied Abdullah Khan, according to the imperial order (hasbul hukm) postponed the pursuit of Keshoji Pandit, who though headed towards the Carnatic, had actually disappeared there. Thus Sayied Abdullah Khan turned back and joined Zulfiqar Khan. There he took his place in the van by sharing the command with the already appointed vanguard, Abdul Karim Khan. Now Raja Ram sent a letter, written in *Hindavi*, to Sayied Abdullah Khan saying that, "If the Emperor pardons my crime through you, this lowly person will join the imperial service and will serve any assignment, given to me." Therefore, the aforesaid Khan forwarded the despatch to Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur who forwarded the said (letter) with a petition (arz-dasht) to the Emperor. It was placed before the Emperor. When His Majesty read it, he ordered that the imperial order (hasbul hukm) be sent in the name of the Khan to this effect, "According to his (Raja Ram) wishes a letter of assurance be sent to him, adding that this fellow is a liar and a cheat. All these requests are not without fraud and deceit. Therefore, don't trust (**fol. 160b**) his words and message. You must act carefully and cautiously. If his request is genuine, allow him (Raja Ram) to pay his respects to you. Thereafter, on your recommendation with regard to his promotion will be accepted."

Ankuji, the *wakil* of Rani of Badhnur, arrived at the court and paid his respects to the Emperor. After he had stayed for a while, he was allowed to go back. He was given a horse and he shared reward (inam) with his companion, Bapuji Pandit. The Emperor sent a wrapper (*orhini*), a *dushala*,

a female clothes consisting of embroided sari etc., and other articles for her and a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), an elephant and two horses for her son. It was ordered that the Rani, "who owes to pay the tribute (peshkash) of Rs. 8,00,000 (eight lakhs) should pay like this : Rs. 5,00,000 (five lakhs) to the Emperor. Rs. 2,00,000 (two lakhs) to the treasury of Bijapur and Rs. 1,00,000 (one lakhs) to Zulfiqar Khan." Two or three *ahadis* were despatched as sazawal to enforce the payment.

In short, Sayied Abdullah Khan reached the banks of river Tambahidra in the pursuit of Raja Ram. At that place Jewaji, a trusted servant of Raja Ram, arrived having been given promises and assurances and paid his respects to Sayied Abdullah Khan (**fol. 161a**). The Khan inquired about Raja Ram from him (Jewaji). He was informed that the Raja had crossed the said river and had entered the dominions of Rani Badhnur. The Khan reported to the court, the arrival of Jewaji Pandit with the hope of imperial service and flight of Raja Ram into the dominions of the Rani. It was ordered that the Khan, "after acquainting himself fully with the objective of Jewaji should suggest his *mansab* and it will be accepted." Thus the Khan suggested a *mansab* of 3,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawars* and Rs. 25,000 cash as help (masaida). It was accepted.

According to the instruction an imperial order (hasbul hukm) was issued "asking the Khan to cross the river Tambahidra and pursue Raja Ram there." So the Khan did according to the imperial orders.

The Emperor received the petition (arz-dasht) of Sayied Abdullah Khan saying, "According to the imperial orders, the servants of the state crossed the river Tambahidra and reached the precinct of Badhnur. Here it was found that Raja Ram had come up to the fort of Badhnur and had sent one person from among his followers inside the fort to secure his entry into it. There was no love lost between the Rani and Raja Ram and they were hostile to each other

as before. Hearing the said news, she closed the doors of the fort and did not allow (him) to enter. Under such circumstances, Raja Ram lost courage and rushed to his uncle, Ankoji. So I went after him and sent a messenger to Ankoji saying that if he wanted his safety, he should arrest Raja Ram and surrender (him) to the imperial servants (fol. 161b). Otherwise he would become an object of the imperial wrath." This frightened Ankoji and he began to ponder that "if he did not hand over the Raja to the imperial servants, he would be subjected to the imperial wrath. But if he acted according to the imperial orders, he being his brother's son, he would earn ignominy which would be attached to him till the day of judgement. In sheer helplessness he told Raja Ram that imperial army was pursuing him. Neither did he have a big army nor was he (Ankuji) to oppose it. Thus his stay would be against good sense. The only way out was to go to the Rani of Badhnur. Thus, according to the advice of his uncle, Raja Ram, Partap Rao, Hameer Rao and Rupa Singh Bhonsle, came out and went towards Badhnur.

When Sayied Abdullah Khan received the news of Raja Ram's escape towards Badhnur, he, arranging his army, marched after him. But Raja Ram had covered a distance of 20 (twenty) *karohs* by morning. On his route was situated his temple, where he stopped for worship according to his religious rites. (At that time) Sayied Abdullah Khan surprised him and he was greatly perturbed. The perplexed Raja was consoled by Rupa Singh Bhonsle and Anba Khonsle by saying, "O, brother ! why do you trouble yourself. Have patience. Both of us would go forward with our men and engage the servants of the state. Meantime, you spur your horse and escape."

When (fol. 162a) Sayied Abdullah Khan reached near (the temple), Rupa Singh Bhonsle and Anba Khonsle, combining their troops, attacked the imperial army with 500 (five hundred) soldiers and (it provided an opportunity to) Raja Ram, who accompanied by few fellows, escaped. Sayied

Abdullah Khan instructed his own followers saying, "Exert yourself in such a manner that the enemy be taken prisoner alive". Thus the brave soldiers of the imperial army, coming from all sides, encircled him and it marked the beginning of the battle. 200 (two hundred) men among the enemy were either killed or wounded, while 180 (one hundred and eighty) of the Khan's men fell in the battle. In short, the brave men of the imperial army succeeded in capturing Rupa Singh Bhonsle with his seventy men alive and Anba Khonsle getting defeated, ran away with his few men.

At last Sayied Abdullah Khan, accompanied by Rupa Singh Bhonsle, reached his encampment. From there, he sent a petition (arz-dasht) to the Emperor stating that "Rupa Singh Bhonsle and his seventy men had been arrested and that Raja Ram had escaped towards Badhnur to beg asylum in the Rani's territory." After the receipt of the said petition (arz-dasht), an imperial order (hasbul hukm), with the seal of Jumdat-ul-Mulk, addressed to the Rani was despatched saying, "The presence of Raja Ram in your dominion is against the exalted wishes. Soon after the receipt of this imperial order you must arrest and send him escorted by your soldiers to the royal (**fol. 162b**) presence through Sayied Abdullah Khan."[4]

The Raja was one of the relatives of the Rani. Because of her relationship, she, ignoring her past differences, extended him protection. In reply to the imperial order, she despatched a petition (arz-dasht) saying, "Raja Ram has not come to this place. Sayied Abdullah Khan has captured Rupa Singh Bhonsle with his followers and I am sure that fugitive is among them." Thereafter, the Emperor ordered Bahadur Khan and Sayied Abdullah Khan "to ransack the dominion of the Rani." She, having been apprised of given orders, engaged herself in averting the destruction of her dominion. Many villages (mauzas) and districts (zilas) were destroyed. She herself left the fort of Badhnur and took refuge in the fort of Komgarh, which was widely known for its strong fortifications. From there, she sub-

mitted another petition (arz-dasht) to the Emperor saying, "A few selfish persons have reported to (you) about the coming of Raja Ram to me, which is not correct. (No doubt) he came to me but there have been differences between us since long. So I did not allow him to stay (here) and he went back to his uncle. This humble-self is still faithful to you, how can anything against the wishes of your Majesty (be done by me)? I have, however, full faith in your benign kindness that the utterances of wrong persons and loose talkers would not be believed. I pray that the victorious army, which has been appointed to plunder my (fol. 163a) dominions, be called back so that peace and order may be maintained there." When the petition (arz-dasht) of the Rani received through Yar Ali Beg, was presented before the Emperor, he pardoning her, called back the army from there. (It was ordered that every year the Rani should pay Rs. 8,00,000 (eight lakhs) tribute (nazrana). Over and above she would pay 2,500 *huns* and should also send 500 horsemen (*sawars*) and 2.000 (two thousand) foot-men (piyadas) in accordance with the custom, prevalent in the time of Ali Adil Shah, to Talkokan so that they might serve under the *faujdar* of that place." An imperial order (farman) was also issued, giving her assurances. The Emperor conferred upon her a robe of honour (khilat-i-fakhra), an elephant, five horses and other commodities which were handed over to her *wakil.*

After the receipt of the said order (farman) and the presents, she sent another petition (arz-dasht) : "Thanking the Emperor for his kindness. From the required tribute (peshkash) 1,15,000 (one lakh and fifteen thousand) *huns* were sent with two elephants and ten horses. Out of them two horses with golden trappings were sent to the Court through Jotak Pandit and two other men as her *wakils.*" Thus the Pandit, after paying his respects at the exalted court presented 50 (fifty) gold coins (muhars) as *nazr* and performed the rites of *kurnish* there. Then he presented the *huns*, elephants and horses which were all accepted by the Emperor. Each of three persons was given a *sarpech.*[5]

After this Fath Jang Khan (fol. 163b) was given Rs. 50,000/- as cash assistance (masaida), an elephant and five horses.

Raja Anup Singh, the *faujdar* and the commandant of Imtiazgarh, who held the *mansab* of 500 (five hundred) horsemen (*sawars*) with 500 (five hundred) conditionally, his *sawar* rank was made unconditional.

Muhammad Saeed, who was a mansabdar of 3,500 *zat* and 2,500 *sawars* was given the title of Firoze Khan.

Mian Hazin was also given the above mentioned *mansab* and the title of Haibat Khan.

Sayied Muhammad and Sayied Jalal, keepers of the masoleum (dargah) of Shah Alam, which was situated in Ahmadabad, Gujarat were given *Chira*, *Farakhi*, with two pieces of *Khees* each. The *Qazi-ul-Ouzat*, Qazi Abdullah was asked to send these to them.

Himmat Khan Bahadur, the *subedar* of Oudh, enjoyed the *mansab* of 3,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawars*. Out of his *sawar* rank, 1,500 *sawars* were unconditional, 500 (five hundred) out of 1500 (fifteen hundred conditional) were made unconditional with branding and reviewing (dagh-o-tasiha).

Saif Khan, the *Nazim* of the *Darul Khair*, Ajmer, who was facing financial crisis, was exempted from branding and reviewing (dagh-o-tasiha).

Death of Aghar Khan (fol. 164a)

From the report (waqa-i) of the *Darul Khilafat*, Akbarabad, the fact of the death of Aghar Khan was received. The details of the occurrence as follow :—"(Aghar Khan), Turani by birth, was posted in Kabul. The Khan, a good soldier and good strategist, had been posted for a long in that district (zila) and had rendered very valuable services for the empire. But at this time, he was dismissed from his

post and, according to the imperial orders, was coming to the court. Passing through the *Darul-Khilafat*, Akbarabad, he reached the precinct of the town (qasba) of Dholpur. As his army was marching in an unarranged manner, the ill-starred Jats, in a large number, swooped down upon him. Capturing a few horses and the grains, they (the Jats) retreated. The Khan, without taking due precaution, accompanied by a small contingent, pursued them to a distance of two or three *karohs*. The ill-starred rebels turned back their reins and attacked the Khan. A fierce skirmish occurred in which about two persons from among the Jats were killed and the Khan, with his eighty men, died fighting bravely on the spot."

In short, hearing the (said) news the Emperor ordered that, "Ashur Beg and other followers (of the Khan) wherever they are (or have reached) should turn back and go to Kabul."[6]

FOOT NOTES

1. Raja Ram had been kept by Sambha in prison. After the downfall of the latter, he was crowned (8th Feb.) by the Maratha minister in Raigarh, as Sambha's son Sahu (afterwards Shivaji II) was too young to be the head of a state.

   "Prahlad Niraji, Dhanaji Jadhav, Santaji Ghorpade were around Raja Ram, who raised him on the throne on 25th March, 1689." *M.A., 327-28* ; Bhim Sen, II, 76a-b. & Jedhe (SS) 31.

2. Ruhullah Khan conducted operations against Raja Ram. *M.A. 328* and *Bhim Sen*, II, 97a.

3. According to Jedhe Chronoly, Raja Ram fled from Raigarh to Partapgarh on 10 Chaitra Bari (5th April, 1689). On Ashwin Krishna (26th Sept.) he rode from Panhala and reached Vellore on Kartik Krishna II. (28th Oct., 1689)". *Jedhe* (*SS*) 34.

   Chitnis Bakhar says that "he passed through the way of Gokarna-Sondha-Shri Yankateswar-Bangalore". Chitnis, 32 ; See also *M.A. 327* ; and Bhim Sen, II, 97a.

4. "Sayied Abdullah Khan Barha was reported that Raja Ram with 300 of his high officers had entered in the kingdom of Badhnur. The Khan sent his son Hasan Ali thither with his van, while he brought up the rear by forced marches. In three days the enemy was overtaken near the fort of Subhangarh and Jara on the Tambahidra. The Marathas who had taken refuge in an island, were attacked at night, surrounded and over powered, and their chiefs (sardars) including Hindu Rao, Ankoji (Santa Ghorpade), Baharji and Mania Ghorpara were made prisoners. But Raja Ram escaped." *M.A., 329.*

5. "For some time Raja Ram hid himself in the territory of the Rani of Badhour. But a Mughal force under Jan Nisar Khan having invaded her country to punish her for harbouring Raja Ram, she let him escape to Jinji (1st. Nov.) in Madras, and made her peace with the Emperor by paying a small fine". *Ibid., 329.*

   For details see Bhim Sen, II, 98a, 101a, 112b, 122a, 128b, 129a & 129b, 130b ; *M.A. 391, 401-402, 408, 419-20.*

6. Ishwardas gives the full details of the Jats wars in Aurangzeb's later years with some confusion of persons and dates, which is corrected from the authentic but (meagre) official history, *Maasiri Alamgiri.*

   "Aghar Khan rescued his women and then assaulted the *Gahri* in which the Jats had taken refuge, but was shot dead". *K.K,* II, 395.

   (The leader of the Jats was Raja Ram.)

Occurrence XVIII Comprises

(fol. 164b) OF THE APPOINTMENT OF UMDAT-UL-MULK KHAN-I-JAHAN BAHADUR ZAFAR JANG KOKALTASH TO THE POST OF THE SUBEDARI OF LAHORE; BRINGING OF SULTAN BULAND AKHTAR BY DURGADAS RATHOR, HONOURING OF BHAIYA ISARDAS THROUGH SHUJAET KHAN, THE SUBEDAR OF AHMADABAD (GUJARAT).

Umdat-ul-Mulk Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang Kokaltash, who enjoyed the *mansab* of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawars*, out of which 4,000 *sawars* were *do-aspa*, and had also received one crore *dams* as *inam* was appointed to the *subedari* of *Darul Sultanat*, Lahore.[1] (This arrangement was made) consequent upon the removal of the *wakils* of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah from there. (To it was added the *faujdari* of Jammu) which had fallen vacant due to the transfer of Hafizullah Khan, who had been dismissed and held the *mansab* of 1,500 *zat* and 1,200 *sawars* out of which 600 (*sawars*) were *do-aspa*. He had (also) received eighty thousand *dams* as reward (*inam*). (Hafizullah Khan) was summoned to the court.

Itimad Khan, the *mutasaddi* of the port of (Bandar-i) Surat, and the *diwan* of the province (suba) of Ahmadabad, who enjoyed the *mansab* of 1,000 *zat* and 700 *sawars* and whose straight-forwardness, correct way of tackling any problem together with his accomplishments, was well known to His Majesty because he had performed all duties, entrusted to

him with great care and success, received an increase of 200 *sawars* (in his mansab).[2]

Bahadur Khan, who had exerted himself well, received an increase of 500 *sawars.* Over and above his original (mansab) was of 5000 *zat* and 5000 *sawars*, he received an increase of 500 *sawars* which raised his rank to 5,500 out of which 1,000 *sawars* were *do-aspa* (fol. 165a).

Shankar, the nephew of ill-starred Sambha, who was a *mansabdar* of 5,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawars* was honoured with the grant of a standard (alam) and drum (naqara).

Through the servants of the state His Majesty was informed that, "Raja Sahu, according to the imperial orders, had reached Salabat Bari and Hamiduddin Khan had taken him in his own post (*chauki*). Orders are awaited regarding his *mansab*." It was ordered: "His *mansab* and *jagir* should remain with him as they were and his servants should remain where they were."[3]

To the officers of the state the Emperor issued the following instructions :—"The nobles (amirs) and *mansabdars*, who are in attendance upon the victorious stirrup and are performing their duties and the payment of their instalments of their salaries had been graciously postponed till the crossing of (nahar) Narbada, be required to submit details with regard to expenditure of cash assistance, variations in the branding and reviewing (dagh-o-tasiha) and fine for absence."

As Raja Kishore Singh Hada, Indar Singh Rathor, Sirajuddin and Khanjar Khan had performed excellent services, each one of them, according to his merits, received an increase in his *mansab* and other imperial favours.

An ughlaq, who had arrived recently from Central Asia, paid his respects to the Emperor and presented a copy of the Quran (fol. 165b), two bows, two gold enamelled quivers (full of arrows), five horses, seven camels and ten gold coins (asharafis), which were accepted. The Emperor conferred a

special robe (khilat-i-khasa) upon him and gave him a studded dagger with the handle of diamonds.

The petition (arz-dasht) of Mustafa Quli Khan, the *faujdar* of Sokakol, in the Telingana, was received with the tribute (peshkash) of Rs. 1,00,000/- (one lakh) in cash alongwith two elephants with golden trappings, thirty horses, twelve out of them with golden trappings and two fans with studded handles. It was accepted (by the Emperor).

The petition (arz-dasht) of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah offering "Congratulations on the 74th birthday of the Emperor and 1,000 gold muhars (asharafis) as *nazr* and *nisar* was duly received at the court." The Prince was honoured with a special robe (khilat-i-khasa), an elephant and two horses.

Sipahdar Khan Bahadur was appointed to the *faujdari* of Lakhi-Jungle vice of Allahdad Khan (who was transferred) with the *mansab* of 2,500 *zat* and 2,000 *sawars* out of which 500 *sawars* were *do-aspa*. It was reported to the Emperor "Quite a number of *mansabdars* are one-eyed (yak chashm)." It was ordered: "Their appointments should be cancelled. But a person, who is a hereditary Khanahzad, well-known and distinguished, be allowed to hold his *mansab* (fol. 166a)."

When the Most High God and the Glorious Lord desires that a lowly person be elevated from the abysmal of humiliation to the elevation of honour and fame and that good luck grants him far-seeing discretion and golden opinion so that guided by the same, he retraces his steps from the road of sin and insurgents and takes to the highway of obedience, fidelity and submission. He joins the service of the Lord of the World, the master of earth and time, who like the morning breeze opens the flower of the good fortune of the humble folk so that the evil days may come to an end and favourable conditions be created with the movement of pen of his thought. Whatever be his objective, it may be

imprinted on the plate of his existence. The illustration of this statement is the exaltation of Durgadas Rathor, who was promoted to a high rank. The details of which as follow: "Since a long time Sultan Buland Akhtar and Saif-un-nisa Begum, the son and daughter of Muhammad Akbar, had been living with Durgadas Rathor, who was carrying on devastating attacks on the imperial territories (parganas) and had waged many a battles against the imperial army. Being frightened by the severe blows of the imperial army, he retreated to a remote place, where even the bird of imagination could hardly reach. At last Durgadas, guided by his good fortune, decided to submit to the Emperor. He wrote a letter to the author of this wonderful work, who after the departure of Shaikh-ul-Islam to Mecca Muazzama (fol. 166 b), had joined the service of Shujaet Khan,[4] the *Nazim* of Ahmadabad, who had appointed him *amin* in the territory (pargana) of Jodhpur, where cordial relations developed between him (Ishwardas) and the Rajputs. In his letter (Durgadas) stated: "If the Khan (Shujaet Khan) will give me a safe conduct and spare my home town (Jodhpur) from ravage, I am ready to send Saif-un-nisa Begum to the exalted presence".

Therefore, this humble-self (servant of the state) sent the (original) letter of Durgadas to the Khan, who submitted it to the Emperor, who going through it. graciously accepted its contents. Orders were issued to the Khan saying. "Having satisfied Durgadas fully, you should send for the daughter of Muhammad Akbar and having equipped her with all that is necessary send her to the Imperial Court." On the receipt of the exalted message, this lowly person under the instructions of the Khan visited Durgadas, who was residing in a remote corner, induced him by wise counsels and to follow his good intention (which he had indicated in his letter). Then this humble-self (Ishwardas) approached the Khan and taking a proper escort and conveyance with him, (and going back to Durgadas) brought Begum Jiu away to the Khan. Appreciating this work the Khan conferred upon this self a robe (khilat) and gave a horse with Rs. 3,000 as rewards (*inam*) in cash.

As Begum has appreciated my services and excellent arrangements during the journey, she asked me to accompany her to the exalted court. With the permission of the Khan this self (Ishwardas) accompanied (her) and conducted her to the exalted presence (**fol. 167a**). On our arrival there, the Emperor issued an order appointing a lady (khatun) tutoress to give her instructions (in Islamic scriptures). Begum Jiu submitted that Durgadas had secured for her a lady (khatun) tutoress from Ajmer under whose tuition she had already studied the Quran and retained it to memory (hafiz). This fact convinced the Emperor and the actual intent of the submission (of Durgadas) became clear to the exalted disposition and the (idea of) punishment changed into forgiveness. Filled with feelings of bounty and munificence, the Emperor ordered : "Whatever he, (Durgadas) has petitioned should be placed before me." The Begum submitted : "A certain person, meaning the writer of this wonderful work, knows it." At once Qazi Abdullah, the Qazi of imperial camp (Urdu-i-Mualla), who had close connections with Shujaet Khan was ordered that "The particular person, who is a servant of Shujaet Khan, should be produced before His Majesty in his private chamber."[5] Next day, according to the exalted orders, the humble-self (Ishwardas) paid his respects through Qazi-ul-Quzat to the Emperor and submitted the demand of Durgadas for bestowing *mansab* and cash assistance (masaida), which was accepted. This lowly person (Ishwardas) was given a robe (khilat) and the *mansab* of 200 and was asked to perform the duty of bringing Sultan Buland Akhtar and Durgadas to the exalted presence. To Shujaet Khan, separate orders were issued indicating : "The completion of this work should be considered the utmost duty and it should be performed with all haste so that the Khan may get increase in his *mansab* as reward." In short, when this lowly person (Ishwardas) reached Ahmadabad, the Khan conferred upon this self (Ishwardas) a robe (khilat) and reward (*inam*), and sent him to Sultan Buland Akhtar and Durgadas (**fol. 167b**). This humble-self paid repeated visits to Durgadas, took solemn oaths of fidelity on behalf of the Khan, and satisfied him by sincere promises. Durgadas, on getting the

parwanajats, conferring *jagir* on him and being put in actual possession of the lands assigned to him (was satisfied). This humble-self brought them (Sultan Buland Akhtar and Durgadas) to Ahmadabad. Shujaet Khan laid before Sultan Buland Akhtar tribute (peshkash) of different commodities. He treated Durgadas according to his rank. Accompanied by Sultan Buland Akhtar and Durgadas, he (Ishwardas) reached Surat where Sayied Hasan Ali Khan, Shah Beg and others had been deputed by the Emperor to welcome (the party) with the specific instructions that he, becoming the tutor (ataliq), should instruct the Prince about the etiquette (of the court). But Sultan Buland Akhtar, who had lived in the company of ignorants, considered it a burden. He became obstinately silent and stopped speaking. After reaching the presence of the Emperor, Ruhullah Khan was sent (to the Prince) to enquire about his condition. A physician was appointed to treat the Prince but he was unable to speak. When Durgadas reached the exalted entrance (devedhi) to pay his respects, it was ordered that he should be ushered in unarmed **(fol. 168a)**. Without a moment's hesitation or protest, he took off his sword. Hearing of it, His Majesty ordered him to enter with his arms on. As he entered, Ruhullah Khan advanced towards him, tied his wrists with a handkerchief and ushered him in the presence of the Emperor.[6] His Majesty graciously ordered his hands to be untied and increased 500 more in his actual *mansab* of 3,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawars* and (bestowed) a studded *Jamdhar*, a gold pendant and a necklace of pearls (upon him).[7] The writer of these wonderful lines (Ishwardas) was also ordered by the exalted threshold of the *Khilafat* to be given a robe (khilat) and an increase of 50 *zat* and 10 *sawars* (in his mansab). According to the promise of Shujaet Khan to Durgadas, within a week he (Durgadas) got permission to return to his homeland from the imperial threshold. The humble self (Ishwardas) also got a *jagir* in Merta and was posted at Ahmadabad.[8]

FOOT NOTES

1. "On Saturday, 22nd. Rajab, A.H. 1101 (the 11th April, 1691) Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was appointed the *Nazim of the Punjab* Vice Alijah Muhammad Azam Shah." *M.A.*, 338. "The Khan was dismissed from the said post, on Sunday, 21st. Zil, A.H. 1103 (13th August, 1693)" *Ibid.*, 360.

2. "Itimad Khan became *diwan* and *faujdar* of the blessed port of Surat in June, 1689." *M.A. 331.*

3. "Raja Sahu was captured with the entire family of Sambha. The Emperor gave Sahu the title of Raja, lodged him within the Gulalbar, and attended his upbringing." *M.A., 391-407* ; *Dilkusha, II, 145b, 147a, 154b-155a* ; K.K., II, 469-520-516 ; *Chit.* II, 71-72.

4. "Shujaet Khan was appointed the subedar of Gujarat in 1684 and also faujdar of Marwar. He remained in office till his death on 16th June, 1701 A.D. He was succeeded by Prince Muhammad Azam Shah." *M.A., 441* ; *Mirat, 343.*

5. The daughter of Akbar was restored to Aurangzeb in 1694 A.D. On 11th June 1695 the Emperor sent a slave named Shah Beg from his court to Shujaet Khan to take charge of Akbar's daughter and bring her away. She was married to Prince Khujista Akhtar, and died of fever on 1st. July, 1699 and was buried at Mangalvir (north Bijapur) in a tomb built for Rs. 420. See *M.A. 372 & 393.*

6. This was a theatrical action by which, in Mughal times, the offender had to beg the royal pardon and soothe royal dignity.

7. His mansab became 3,000/2,500. *M.A.* 395 ; Kamwar, 286b, 299b ; A.M.T. 125b, also Athar Ali, op. cit., 232.

   Tod adds incorrectly that Ajit was also given Jodhpur. There is no support of the Rajput's bards assertion that in 1700 Ajit gained possession of the city of Jodhpur, Prince Azam leading the way. The latter statement is impossible, as Azam became faujdar of Jodpur (by deputy) late in 1701. *Mirat* 359.

8. "On Friday, the 20th May, 1698 (20th Zil, Q.), Durgadas Rathor, through the intercession of Shujaet Khan subedar of Ahmadabad, brought to court, as the instrument of his pardon, Buland Akhtar, son of Muhammad Akbar, who was born during that Prince's wanderings in the land of the Rathors, left there on his flight from the country and brought up by the Rathors with a view to causing tumult and confusion. At his interview Durgadas came with his wrists tied together. The Emperor ordered him to be unbound, and gave him a robe, a jewelled dagger and the rank of 3 hazari (2,500 tr.). Buland Akhtar had audience in the private chamber and got a robe (khilat) and a *sarpech* and his residence (daira) was placed within gulalbar." *M.A. 395.* See also Mirat.

THE END

This manuscript, which records the reminiscences of Mehta Isri Das Chuni of *Nagar* caste, is called the *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri.* The date of the preparation of the manuscript for Lala Khushhal is 21st Rabi, I, A.H. 1163. The *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwardas Nagar was copied on the 4th Rajab, A.H. 1246 at Satara for Khan Singh, the resident of Shahjahanabad (fol. 168b).

Bibliography

Note : The abbreviation 'B.M.' represents the British Museum 'I.O.', the India Office Library ; and 'Bodl', the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

A. Chronicles

Asad Beg Qazwini, *Memoirs*, MS. B.M. Or. 1996.

Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, *Ma'asiri-Rahimi*, ed. Hidayat Husain, Bib. Ind. 1910-31.

Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64.

Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1867-68.

Muhammad Salih Kambo, *Amal-i Salih*, ed. G. Yazdani, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1923-46.

Muhammad Waris, *Badshah Nama* (Continuation of Abdul Hamid Lahori's *Badshah Nama*). B.M. Add. 6556, Or., 1675. Transcript in the Department of History, Aligarh. (This MS. is defective at the end, lacking the list of *mansabdars*).

Sidhari Lal, *Tuhfa-i-Shah Jahani*, MS. I. O. 337.

Muhammad Sadiq Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, MS. B.M. Or. 174 ; Or. 1671. The author has suppressed his identity and has given a fictitious name. The autobiographical facts which he has given are palpably false. Yet the author was a contemporary—indeed, probably, a high officer—of Shah

Jahan and the work is of considerable historical importance. It gives us several important pieces of information missing in the official chronicles.

Shihabuddin Talish, *Fathiya-i-Ibriya, MS. Bodl. Ox. 589.* The first part of the book has been printed under the title Tarikh-i-Muluk-i-Asham, Calcutta, 1865-73.

Amin Qazwini, *Badshah Nama*, MS. B.M. Or. 173; Add. 20,734. I have also used a transcript of Raza Library (Rampur) MS. in the Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, *Mirat-al-Alam*, MS. Abdus Salam, 84/314, Maulana Azad Library, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, *Mirat-i-Jahan Numa*, (A version of proceeding) MS. B.M. 1998.

Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgir Nama*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1865-73.

Hatim Khan, *Alamgir Nama*, MS. B.M. Add. 26, 233. An abridgement of Muhammd Kazim's *Alamgir Nama*, but giving certain facts omitted by Muhammad Kazim.

Aqil Khan Razi, *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Zafar Hasan, Aligarh, 1946. The attribution of the work to Aqil Khan Razi is not free of doubt. While some parts of this small work contain very interesting information, some statements, specially in the earlier portion, are difficult to believe, and suggest that its author was writing on the basis of hearsay.

Abul Fazl Mamuri, *Tarikh-i-Aurangzeb*, MS. B.M. Or. 1671. Continuation of Sadiq Khan's *Shahjahan Nama*. Like Sadiq Khan, the autobiographical facts given by Abul Fazl Mamuri appear also to be, at least in part, fictitious. No such officer is known to us from other evidence.

Kam Raj, *Azam-al-Harb*, MS. B.M. Or. 1899.

collection of letters written by Qabil Khan on behalf of Aurangzeb before his accession. The letters are addressed to Shahjahan, Prince Muhammad Sultan, Muazzam Khan entitled Mir Jumla, Najabat Khan, Khan-i Dauran Nasiri Khan and others. This collection also includes letters written by Muhammad Sadiq on behalf of Prince Akbar in 1680 during the Rathor rebellion.

Ruq'at-i Alamgir, ed. Saiyid Najib Ashraf Nadvi, Azamgarh, 1930. Contains the correspondence of Aurangzeb with Shahjahan, Jahan Ara Begum, Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, Murad Bakhsh and other princes and nobles ; largely extracted from the *Adab-i Alamgiri.*

Shivaji, *Khutut-i-Shivaji*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS. 173.

D. Biographies and Tazkiras

Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-al-Umara*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind, 1888. 3 Vols. The famous biographical dictionary of Mughal nobles.

Kewal Ram, *Tazkirat-al-Umara*, MS. B.M. Add. 16, 703.

E. Dictionaries

Steningars, Persian English Dictionary.

Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Mirat-al-Istilah*, a glossary of technical terms, 1745. A.D. MS. in Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Library, Aligarh.

Abdur Rahim Tattawi, *Farhang-i-Rashidi*, 1653-54 A.D. ed. Abu Tahir Zulfiqar Ali Murshidabadi, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875.

Munshi Tek Chand 'Bahar', *Bahar-i Ajam*, 1739-40 A.D. Nawal Kishore, 1916.

F. European Sources

Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Nongor, 1653-1708*, tr. W. Irvine, Indian Texts Series, Government of India, London, 1907-8.

Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-67*, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889.

Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire 1656-68*, tr. A, Constable, ed. Smith.

The English Factories in India, (New Series), ed. Sir Charles Fawcett, Oxford, 1936.

G. **Modern works**

Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, Lahore. 1945.

S. Ahmad, *Umra-i-Hunud.* (Urdu).

Muhammad Akbar, *Punjab Under the Mughals*, Lahore, 1948.

Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court* (1707-40), Aligarh, 1959.

M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Asia Publishing House, 1968.

M.S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, Vol. II, (1573 to 1758) Orient Longmans, 1957.

W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896.

H.H. Das, *The Norris Embassy to Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1959.

M. Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, Bombay, 1935.

A. Fuhrar, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1891.

Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1556-1707), Bombay, 1963.

Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire and its Practical Working up to the Year 1657*, Oxford, 1936.

D. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes, Lahore*, 1916.

William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, London, 1903.

Gribble, J.D.B, *History of the Deccan* (Vol. III), London, 1896.

R.P. Khosla, *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, Allahabad, 1934.

Levy, *Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1957.

W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, London, 1920.

———*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Cambridge, 1929.

———*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, London, 1923.

Maulana Shibli Naumani, *Aurangzeb Alamgir Per Ek Nazar*. (Urdu)

Gauri Shankar Hera Chand Ojha, *Rajputanae Ka Itihas*, Vol. III, Ajmer, 1937.

Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir* ; 2nd. ed. Allahabad, 1930.

K. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Calcutta, 1952.

G. D. Sharma, *Rajput Polity*, Manohar Book Publication, 1977.

Bisheshwar Nath Reu, *Mewar Ka Itihas*, Vol. I, 1940.

P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals (1526-1658)*, Allahabad, 1941.

Jadu Nath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb—Mainly based on Persian Sources*, 5 vols. Calcutta, 1912, 1916 and 1930.

———*House of Shivaji*, 1960.

———*Shivaji and His Times*, 4th ed. 1948.

———*Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*, Calcutta, 1933.

———*Mughal Administration*, Calcutta, 1920.

Jagdish Narain Sarkar, *The Life of Mir Jumla*, Calcutta, 1951.

B. P. Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1958.

S. R. Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Oxford, 1940 ; 2nd. ed. Bombay, 1962.

Duff, J. G. *History of the Marathas* (Vol. I) London 1912.

J.S. Bird, History of Gujarat, 2 Vol.

Kaviraj Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, 4 Vols. This history of Mewar in Hindi which is based on an extensive study of Persian and Rajasthani sources, often gives full texts of *farmans* and *nishans* issued by the Mughal Emperors and Princes to the Ranas of Udaipur.

S.N. Sen, *The Military system of the Marathas*, Bombay, 1958.

V.A. Smith, *Akbar' the Great Mogul (1542-1605)*, 2nd. ed. Oxford, 1919.

Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Indian Mughals*, London, 1913.

Thorn, *Memoir of the War in India*.

James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, popular ed. 2 Vols. London, 1914.

R.P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, . Allahabad, 1936.

——— *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1956.

H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, and C., of British India*, London, 1875.

M. A. Ansari, *Social Life of the Mughal Emperors 1526-1707*. Shanti Parkashan. New Delhi.

——— *European Travellers under the Mughals*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi.

S. Nurul Hasan, *Thoughts on Agrarian Relations In Mughal India*, P.P.H., 1973.

H. Selected Articles

Proceedings of the Indian History Congress

1946 ... Jizyah in the post-Aurangzeb period, Satish Chandra,

1960 ... The Religious issue in the War of Succession—1658-59, M. Athar Ali.

1961 ... Causes of the Rathor Rebellion, 1679, M. Athar Ali.

Journal of Indian History

Vol. XII, Ajit Singh, V. Reu, 85-9.

Journal of the Social & Economic History of the Orient, 1969.

Nature of Jaziyah during the 17th century, Satish Chandra.

Islamic Culture, Haiderabad (India)

1946 ... Lower Class Risings in the Mughal Empire by W.C. Smith, 21-40.

1975 ... Ishwardas : A Hindu Chronicler of Aurangzeb's Reign, Tasneem Ahmad.

Bengal Past and Present Vol. XCI, Part II, No. 172. July-Dec. 1972.

Role of Durgadas Rathor in the Politics of Marwar, 1693-1697, G.D. Sharma.

Index

NAMES

Geographical Names